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No.14

Empire, Islam, and Politics in Central Eurasia

Edited by UYAMA Tomohiko

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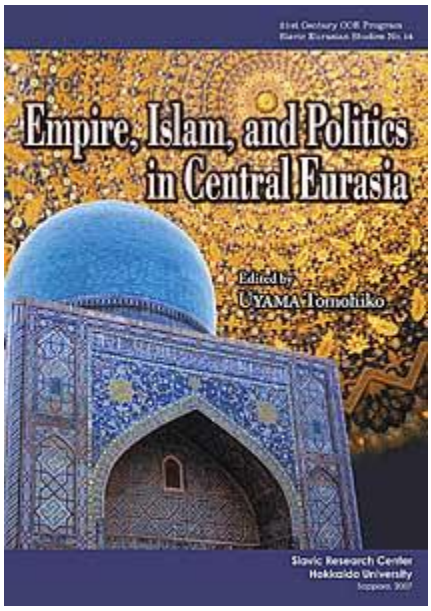

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Slavic Eurasian Studies No. 14

EMPIRE, ISLAM, AND POLITICS IN CENTRAL EURASIA

Edited by Uyama Tomohiko

Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, Sapporo

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Preface

Central Eurasian studies have made remarkable progress over the last two decades. Formerly a rare subject, Central Eurasia is now studied by a large number of researchers on the basis of primary sources and fieldwork. Scholars in the West and Central Eurasia, once separated by the Iron Curtain, now make frequent contact. Japan, having a long tradition of studying the ancient and medieval history of Central Asia, has also witnessed a surge of interest in modern Central Eurasia.[1]

This volume is a product of collaboration of Japanese, Central Eurasian, American, and Russian scholars, and reflects recent innovation in approaches and methodologies in this field of study. The first group of themes in this book is related to the history of Central Eurasia under the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. The multinational character of these successive "empires" has become common knowledge, but specialists in Russian history tend to rely exclusively upon Russian sources and analyze the events in Russia's "peripheries" only in the context of Russian administration. Our approach is to combine Russian, Turkic, and Persian sources, and to investigate interactions between Russian administration and local people.

The second main subject is Islam, which was inseparably related to

1 In addition to individual works, recent works collectively written by Japanese scholars on Central Eurasia include: KOMATSU Hisao, UMEMURA Hiroshi, UYAMA Tomohiko, OBIYA Chika, and HORIKAWA Toru, eds., *Chuo Yurashia wo shiru jiten* [Cyclopedia of Central Eurasia] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2005), 624 p.; IWASAKI Ichiro, UYAMA Tomohiko, and KOMATSU Hisao, *Gendai Chuo Ajia ron: Henbo suru seiji-keizai no shinso* [Contemporary Central Asia: Political and economic changes] (Tokyo: Nippon hyoronsha, 2004), xxi + 301 p.; KITAGAWA Seiichi, MAEDA Hirotake, HIROSE Yoko, and YOSHIMURA Takayuki, eds., *Kokasasu wo shiru tame no 60 sho* [Sixty chapters about the Caucasus] (Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 2006), 336 p.

Tsarist policy and the life of many of the Central Eurasian peoples, and was suppressed but later revived under the Soviet regime. For today's Central Eurasian countries, Islamic rebirth is both a homegrown and global phenomenon. Our third focus is on contemporary politics, in which the peculiarities of each country and transnational factors both play crucial role. Overall, the basic concept of this book is interaction between internal/regional dynamics and external/transregional dynamics.

The book begins with a chapter by Komatsu Hisao, who explores the perception of Russian imperial rule by intellectuals, especially Islamic scholars, in Turkestan. Contrary to the view that Turkestani Muslims always dreamed of liberation from Russia, he shows that prominent intellectuals regarded Russian Turkestan as *Dār al-Islām* (Land of Islam) on the grounds that Muslim *qādī*s (judges) worked there according to *Sharī'a*. They accused the leaders of the Andijan Uprising of being ignorant Sufis who made fun of *qādī*s and disturbed Muslim life. Later, the concept of *Dār al-Islām* also served as a basis for the idea of Turkestan autonomy. Uyama Tomohiko turns his attention to the Russian officials' views on the Central Asians expressed in long discussions on the possibility of Christianization and military conscription, and characterizes Russian policy by the conceptions of particularism, Orientalism, and rising Russian nationalism. He also points out that although Muslim intellectuals were generally receptive to both particularistic discourses and the idea of Russia as their motherland, the Russian government was reluctant to accept their offers to mediate between it and ordinary people.

If Komatsu and Uyama examine the mutual perceptions of the Russian government and the Central Asians and the political relations between them on a macro level, Naganawa Norihiro focuses on a micro level of interaction between the state institutions and the Volga-Ural Muslims. He analyzes the debates among Jadid intellectuals, Muslim school teachers, and local Islamic leaders on educational reform in the context of competition between the Ministry of Education and the *zemstvo*s. His paper is related to such important issues as the role of the *mahalla* (parish) as a public space, and the coexistence of Russian citizenship and Tatar nationality. Margaret Dikovitskaya opens the world of a unique kind of historical material, namely the photograph. She

claims that the color ethnographic photography of Prokudin-Gorskii, being a new visual technology, was a powerful publicity tool that represented Russian national pride and discriminatory views on the indigenous populations of Central Asia.

Adeeb Khalid's essay on the revolutionary period continues both the themes of Central Asian Jadid discourse (Komatsu) and of cultural reform (Naganawa). Khalid vividly describes how the Russian revolution urged the Jadids, who had earlier engaged in cultural reform, to political action. The defeat of the Ottoman Empire in 1918 and the establishment of British paramountcy in the Middle East converted the Jadids from European liberalism to anticolonialism. They maintained revolutionary enthusiasm after the Bolsheviks won the civil war, although their activities were gradually confined again to the cultural realm. Mambet Koigeldiev narrates even harsher conflicts between the Bolsheviks and Kazakh intellectuals, extensively referring to rare documents from the former Communist Party and KGB archives. The Kazakh national movement, which culminated in the establishment of the Alash Orda autonomous government (1917–1920), was met with hostility from the Bolsheviks. Goloshchekin, the notorious secretary of the Kazakh Krai Committee of the Communist Party (1925–1933), launched an assault on the Kazakh elite, many of whom were sent to concentration camps and eventually killed.

Along with the purge of national elites in the 1930s, one of the most tragic events caused by Soviet policy is the deportation of entire nationalities in the 1940s. Elza-Bair Guchinova, through a series of interviews, minutely describes the adaptation difficulties and survival strategies of the Kalmyks deported to Siberia. Although their overall situation was extremely difficult, they worked and studied hard, communicated with the local people, and marked their festivals secretly, and their common experiences consolidated their ethnic identity. While the Kalmyks returned to their homeland in the late 1950s, some other ethnic groups were forced to remain in exile for more decades. Hanya Shiro focuses on their problem in order to better understand nationalities policy in the Brezhnev era. The Germans, Crimean Tatars, and Meskhetian Turks demanded rehabilitation and return to the homeland. The authorities reacted with carrots and sticks, repressing activists of national move-

ments while permitting return to the homeland under limited conditions. The plan to create a German autonomy in Kazakhstan was abandoned because of the Kazakhs' objection, which testified to the growing national consciousness of titular nations in the 1970s.

Ashirbek Muminov approaches the Soviet period from a different angle and demonstrates the paradoxical nature of Islamic rebirth under a regime that propagated atheism. Shami-Damulla, an anti-Sufi and anti-Hanafi Arab theologian, was extremely influential in Tashkent in the 1920s. Some of his followers later played prominent roles in the Spiritual Directorate of Muslims and struggled against local traditions with the support of the authorities. The idea of Shami-Damulla and his followers returning to the Qur'an and the *hadith*s was borrowed by the young clergy who launched fundamentalist movements in the late Soviet period. George Sanikidze provides valuable information on Islamic resurgence in the Pankisi Gorge, a place that became famous after Russia accused Georgia of harboring Chechen rebels there in the early 2000s. Sanikidze shows that Islam was historically not the sole dominant religion in the gorge, with Georgians and Russians often successfully propagating Christianity among the local Kists. Sufi orders were active during the Soviet period, but radical Islam appeared in the gorge only in the 1990s, when Chechen refugees and Arabs arrived there.

The next two chapters are dedicated to analyses of the internal political dynamism of Central Eurasian countries. Dosym Satpaev shows changes in the political system and elite of Kazakhstan over the post-Soviet period, and the formation of various groupings around figures close to the president. He also points out the danger of super-personification of governmental power. Alexander Markarov analyzes long debates on constitutional reform in Armenia, using the concept of semipresidentialism. The constitutional distribution of power has been an object of contestation in many of the post-Soviet states, and it has been an especially complicated issue in Armenia, where parliamentary coalitions have often been transformed.

The book ends with two chapters that deal with current transborder issues. Sergey Golunov sheds light on the problem of drug trafficking that poses a threat to both Eurasia as a whole and the border regions of Russia and Kazakhstan. He explains in detail the significance of the Rus-

sia-Kazakhstan route among various routes of drug trafficking, the forms of organization of trafficking, and measures taken against it. Oka Natsuko focuses on two transborder ethnic groups, the Uighurs and Uzbeks in Kazakhstan, and proves that although they are sometimes faced with problems deriving from the relationship between Kazakhstan and China or Uzbekistan, they largely maintain stable relations with the Kazakhs and the authorities, and their transborder ethnic links have not challenged the existing border.

All the chapters are based on the papers presented at the international symposium "Regional and Transregional Dynamism in Central Eurasia: Empires, Islam and Politics" (Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, July 7–8, 2005).[2] Both the symposium and this volume have been financed by the 21st Century COE Program "Making a Discipline of Slavic Eurasian Studies." The symposium was also supported by the project "A Comparative Study of the Role of Intellectuals in the Modernization of Central Eurasia" (grant-in-aid for scientific research by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science). I am grateful to the discussants who made helpful comments and suggestions on the papers, and all those who helped in organizing the symposium, especially Iwashita Akihiro, Fujimori Shinkichi, and Maeda Hirotake. A special thanks goes to the editorial assistants—Hosono Mitsue, Yokokawa Daisuke, and Okada Yukari.

Transliteration is a complex issue in this book where the authors refer to sources in various language and alphabets, such as old Tatar in Arabic, Kazakh in Cyrillic, Uzbek in Latin, Georgian in its own script, and so on. Therefore, some words are spelled differently among the chapters, but transliteration is consistent within one chapter. Transliteration from Russian follows the Library of Congress system, although some well-known proper names (such as Catherine II and Yuri Andropov) are spelled according to English convention. Japanese names are written with the family name first.

Uyama Tomohiko

2 Regrettably, a paper on Islamic folk publications in Xinjiang presented at the symposium was not submitted to this volume.

1

KOMATSU Hisao

Dār al-Islām under Russian Rule As Understood by Turkestani Muslim Intellectuals

Since the Perestroika period, studies in the modern history of Turkestan have made great progress. Most of them, with critical attitudes to Soviet historiography, have been distinguished by their new interpretation and approaches. While the creation of national histories has advanced in the newly independent republics of Central Asia, researchers abroad, making use of a great amount of newly obtained source materials, have begun to explore various aspects of political, social, and intellectual history of modern Turkestan.[1]

Among these research trends, studies of the intellectual history during the Tsarist period have great significance and possibilities. They will enable us to understand the historical dynamism of modern Turkestan from within; in other words, through the various discourses of Muslim intellectuals. Faced with a series of great changes following the Russian invasion in the second half of the nineteenth century, they played a leading role in directing their Muslim communities and sometimes in social and cultural reform movements such as Jadidism.[2] At the same

1 Stéphane A. Dudoignon and KOMATSU Hisao, eds., *Research Trends in Modern Central Eurasian Studies (18th–20th Centuries): A Selective and Critical Bibliography of Works Published between 1985 and 2000*, pts. 1–2 (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 2003–2006).

2 For the details see Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in*

time, studies of intellectual history will contribute to examining contemporary issues such as Islamic resurgence and politics in post-Soviet Central Asia in a historical perspective.[3]

This paper aims to present some preliminary observations as well as prospects for further research in this field. Three topics are to be discussed: first, how did Muslim intellectuals, especially the first generation who witnessed the Russian invasion, understand their own society under Russian rule; second, how did they answer to the Andijan uprising in 1898 that threatened "the peaceful order" under Russian rule; and third, how did the next generation conceive the future of their *Dār al-Islām* [The Land of Islam where Islamic law prevails].

Dār al-Islām under Russian Rule

How did Muslim intellectuals, especially the first generation who witnessed the Russian invasion, understand their own society under Russian rule? According to a strict interpretation of Islamic law, believers should fight the invasion of infidels to defend the *Dār al-Islām* and, when they were put under the rule of infidels, they should leave this *Dār al-Harb* [the Land of war] to migrate to a nearby *Dār al-Islām* where their rights would be protected by an Islamic state. In fact, in the 1820s, the *Mujāhidīn*s led by Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi (1786–1831) left India, which turned into a *Dār al-Harb* due to British occupation, and established bases for their *jihād* movements under the protection of Afghanistan. As far as we know, however, such rigorous interpretation was rarely found in modern Central Eurasia, except for the North Caucasus.

One of these rare cases we may cite is that of a renowned Tatar mullah, 'Abd al-Rahim bin 'Uthman al-Bulghari (al-'Utuz al-Imani 1754–1835).

Central Asia (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

3 For example, see Bakhtiyar Babadjanov and Muzaffar Kamilov, "Muhammadjan Hindustani (1882–1989) and the Beginning of the 'Great Schism' among the Muslims of Uzbekistan," in Stéphane A.Dudoignon and KOMATSU Hisao, eds., *Islam in Politics in Russia and Central Asia: Early 18th to Late 20th Centuries* (London: Kegan Paul, 2001), pp. 195–219; B. M. Babadzhanov, A. K. Muminov, M. B. Olkott, "Mukhammadzhan Khindustani (1892–1989) i religioznaia sreda ego epokhi (predvaritel'nye razmyshleniia o formirovanii 'sovetskogo islama' v Srednei Azii)," *Vostok* 5 (2004), pp. 43–59.

Having studied in holy cities in Ma wara' al-nahr such as Bukhara and Samarkand, he mastered Islamic teachings that were inaccessible in the Volga-Ural region under Russian rule after the latter half of the sixteenth century. During his stay in Samarkand he made efforts to repair the famous manuscript of the holy Qur'an preserved in the Khwaja Ahrar madrasa under the title of *Mushaf-i Imām 'Uthmān*. In Bukhara he dared to criticize the religious practices permitted in this holy city, in order to attract the interests of Amir Shahmurad (r. 1785–1800) known as a pious ruler of the Amirate of Bukhara.[4] According to the recent studies by Michael Kemper, 'Abd al-Rahim held an exceptionally hard-line position in the problems of the relationship between Muslims and Christians. Against the general agreement of the Tatar ulama, he considered the Volga-Ural region under Russian rule not as a *Dār al-Islām* but as a *Dār al-Harb*, and condemned the Friday prayers addressed to any Tsar to be invalid.[5] However, his arguments could not gain the support of a majority of the Muslim community. Rather, we consider that Tatar ulama's acceptance of Russian rule as well as the official institution of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly[6] made it easy for Turkestani ulama to adapt to the new conditions of obedience after initial years of confrontation with the Russian army.

In the case of Turkestan we have some treatises written by Muslim intellectuals who discussed the conditions of Muslim society under Russian rule. Among others, Muhammad Yunus Khwaja Ta'ib's Persian work *Tuhfa-yi Tā'ib* [*A Gift of Ta'ib*][7] presents us with the most compre-

4 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Marjānī al-Qazānī, *Mustafād al-Akhbār fi Aḥwāl Qazān wa Bulghār* [The Collection of Information on Kazan and Bulghar], vol. 2 (Kazan, 1900), pp. 239–241.

5 M. K. [Michael Kemper], "al-Bulgari," *Islam na territorii byvshei Rossiiskoi imperii: Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, vyp. 2 (Moscow: "Vostochnaia literatura" RAN, 1999), pp. 18–19.

6 Since Ivan IV (r. 1533–1584)'s conquest of the Kazan Khanate in 1552, Muslims in the Russian Empire suffered harsh treatment of the Russian authorities and Islamic institutions were ignored by them. However Catherine II (r. 1762–1796) introduced rather tolerant policies toward her Muslim subjects. The Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly, established by her order in 1789, supervised Muslim communities in European Russia and Siberia, and contributed to the integration and revitalization of Muslim communities in the Russian Empire.

7 Muḥammad Yūnus Khwāja b. Muḥammad Amīn-Khwāja (Tā'ib), *Tuḥfa-yi Tā'ib*, podgotovka k izdaniiu i predislovie: B. M. Babadzhanov, Sh. Kh. Vakhidov, Kh. Komattsu [KOMATSU Hisao], Islamic Area Studies Project Central Asian Research Series 6 (Tashkent

hensive accounts, based on his considerable experience and deep knowledge of Islamic law. This work, completed in the spring of 1905, is full of quotations from the Qur'an and the *hadīth* [record of the sayings and acts of the Prophet].

Ta'ib (1830–1905) witnessed great changes in Turkestan after the Russian conquest in the 1860s. Born in Tashkent and having studied Islamic teachings in Tashkent and Kokand, he served the commander of the Kokand army, 'Alimqul Amir-i Lashkar (?–1865) as a *shighāvul* (senior master of ceremonies). Distinguished by his talents as a secretary, he engaged in diplomatic negotiations with Russia, Afghanistan, China, and Britain, and participated in defensive campaigns led by 'Alimqul against the Russian army. After the heroic death of his master and the fall of Tashkent, he emigrated into Kashghar to serve a new Muslim ruler in Xinjiang, Ya'qub Bek (?–1877), who appointed him the governor of Yarkand. Losing his second master, he left for India and at the beginning of 1880 returned to Kokand, which was then under Russian rule. In 1886 he was elected a qadi (civil judge) in Kokand and continued to work as a Muslim official under the Russian administration. In his last years he dedicated himself to writing historical works and other treatises including *The Life of 'Alimqul*[8] and *A Gift of Ta'ib*.

In this treatise we see his positive evaluation of Russian rule in Turkestan despite his early experiences of battles with Russians. He says:

> In those days when the sun of the khanate of Ferghana and Turkestan [the Khanate of Kokand] declined and at last the period of their sovereignty came to an end, Russian and Christian governors and lieutenants occupied the regions of this country and the foundations of their authority strengthened. Since then, Russians and Muslims have mingled with each other to reinforce their mutual relationship.[9]

Having witnessed the military and technical superiority of Russia, Ta'ib realized that Muslim resistance to the Russian army was futile, as dem-

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and Tokyo, 2002).

8 Recently the Chaghatay Turkic text with English translation and notes was published. Mulla Muhammad Yunus Djan Shighavul Dadkhah Tashkandi [Ta'ib], *The Life of 'Alimqul: A Native Chronicle of Nineteenth Century Central Asia*, ed. and trans. Timur K. Beisembiev (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).

9 *Tuḥfa-yi Tā'ib*, p. 3 [24b].

onstrated by many defeats. While condemning the pointless fights conducted by ʻAbd al-Rahman Aftabachi and Fulat khan against the Russian army in the Ferghana Valley, he praises the Bukharan Amir Muzaffar's (r. 1860–1885) decision of "opening the gate of peace" with Russians "in order not to lose his country and sovereignty."[10] Here we can remember that Ta'ib's contemporary, a historian of East Turkestan, Mulla Musa (1836?–1917?), who also participated in the *jihād* against Qing rule and witnessed the collapse of the Muslim state established by Yaʻqub Bek in Xinjiang, in later years justified his fellow Muslims' submission to the Qing Emperor, repudiating the attempts of *jihād*. If Mulla Musa justified the submission by a moral norm of ancient Turkic origin, the "obligation of salt," (the obedience of the obligee to his benefactor), Ta'ib did it based on the Hanafi law school tradition in Turkestan.[11]

Accepting Russian rule, Ta'ib did not admit to any need of *jihād* and admonished against any *fitna* [rebellion], because he believed that the situation of Turkestan was *Dār al-Islām*.

> At present, the population of the Ferghana Valley and Turkestan should make use of their positive conditions as much as possible. This country can be considered *Dār al-Islām*, where Muslim *qādī*s and officials work. Islamic law, *Sharīʻa*, is enforced by those in power. It is a great situation for them to be able to solve any legal issues according to *Sharīʻa*. They should give thanks . . . [However,] it is known that if [Muslim] officials neither undertake work nor accept the responsibilities of their offices, and Christian governors who rule these countries leave legal matters in the hands of Christian judges [here the author uses the Russian term *sud'ya*], and other civil affairs in the hands of Russians, then this province would become *Dār al-Harb*. It would be no use to regret this later on.[12]

According to Ta'ib, Muslim *qādī*s and officials were essential to keep order in Muslim society, in other words, to sustain the *Dār al-Islām* even under Russian rule. When Muslim *qādī*s and officials failed to carry out their responsibilities, Muslim society turned into *Dār al-Harb* and lost its

10 *Tuḥfa-yi Tā'ib*, p. 22 [40a/40b].

11 As to Mulla Musa see HAMADA Masami, " 'Shio no gimu' to 'seisen' tono aida de," *Toyoshi kenkyu* 52, no. 2 (1993), pp. 122–148; HAMADA Masami, "Jihâd, hijra et «devoir du sel» dans l'histoire du Turkestan oriental," *Turcica* 33 (2001), pp. 35–61.

12 *Tuḥfa-yi Tā'ib*, p. 17 [36a–36b].

communal identity and social cohesion. We find such understanding in writings of other intellectuals. For example, one of the first reformists in the Ferghana Valley, Ishaqkhan Tura ibn Junaydallah Khwaja 'Ibrat (1862–1937)[13] writes in his Turkic treatise *Mīzān al-Zamān* in a more optimistic way:

> In former years [under the reign of the Kokand khans] the guidance of ordinary people [according to *Sharī'a*] was under the jurisdiction of the president of Islam (*ra'īs-i Islām*). In these days, all the works belong to the ulama and learned men, who are leading people to the right way to progress and improvement. Their service is considered a great national contribution.[14]

As is well known, Russian authorities in Turkestan, avoiding interference in socio-cultural issues in Muslim society, put Islamic jurisprudence and local administration into the hands of Muslim representatives, civil judges (*qādī*s) and county chiefs (*mingbāshi*s) with some institutional reforms such as the introduction of election system. Although Ta'ib elaborated the logic of *Dār al-Islām* under Russian rule, it is undeniable that in reality the concept of *Dār al-Islām* was maintained by the Russian policy of "disregarding" Islam in colonial Turkestan introduced by the first governor-general K. P. von Kaufman (r. 1867–1882).

In general, both Ta'ib and 'Ibrat were receptive to the new civilization brought about by Russians. The latter, citing an alleged *hadīth* "Seek for science even from China,"[15] encouraged people to obtain modern science and to spread the New Method schools in Turkestan. They are

13 Born in Turaqurgan, near Namangan, and having studied in a madrasa in Kokand (1878–1886), 'Ibrat opened a New Method school in his village. On the occasion of the *hajj* he traveled extensively in the Ottoman lands and India, and later made a trip into Kashghar and China. Endowed with extensive learning, he published a wide range of works. From 1908 to 1917 he worked as a *qādī* in his birth place. His treatise *Mīzān al-Zamān* is supposed to have been written just after the October Revolution in 1917. Later engaged in educational works under the Soviet regime, he disappeared in the waves of repression in 1937.

14 Isḥāqkhān Tūra ibn Junaydallāh Khwāja, *Mīzān al-Zamān*, podgotovka k izdaniiu, predislovie, redaktsiia teksta: Khisao Komattsu [KOMATSU Hisao], Bakhtiyar Babadzhanov, Islamic Area Studies Project Central Asian Research Series 2 (Tashkent and Tokyo, 2001), p. 15 [14a].

15 *Mīzān al-Zamān*, p. 4 [3b]. Most of the Jadid intellectuals used this *hadīth* to legitimate their arguments for introducing foreign but modern culture into Muslim society.

common in evaluating the economic and cultural development in Turkestan under Russian rule. 'Ibrat describes a remarkable change in the way of life among the ordinary people who abandoned an idle life to adopt a punctual and diligent way of doing business under the new conditions.[16]

In his discussion 'Ibrat does not forget to mention his opponents who exhibited fanaticism against every innovation and foreign product and denounced them heretical (*bid'a*).[17] He describes an example of these fanatical mullahs who prohibited in a mosque the use of an oil lamp filled with oil produced in Russia. Despite its usefulness for the public it was declared unlawful (*harām*). Only about five years later he found that those mullahs were making use of the same oil lamps.[18] It is true that 'Ibrat considered these mullahs as a great obstacle to socio-cultural reform. However, these conservative or simple-minded mullahs were not the major opponents for Ta'ib.

The Andijan Uprising and Muslim Intellectuals' Responses to It

In the end of the introductory part of the *Tuhfa-yi Tā'ib*, after relating the peaceful relationship between Russians and Muslims, Ta'ib writes as follows:

> [However] A group of ignorant Sufis, who neither provided any learning nor gained any knowledge, was absorbed in hypocritical devotions and self-adoring diversions. . . . According to their corrupt thinking, houses where Russians and Christians lived, carpets on which they sat, and food served on dishes that were touched or used by them were to be considered impure and deficient . . . [Furthermore] they dared to have contempt and make fun of *qādī*s in front of people, although *qādī*s undertook their legal duties with the consent of Muslims to make legal decisions and to satisfy the

16 *Mīzān al-Zamān*, p. 20 [19b]. As to positive evaluation of Russian rule see also Mullā 'Ālim Makhdūm Hājjī, *Ta'rīkh-i Turkistān* (Tashkent, 1915), pp. 164–168.

17 *Mīzān al-Zamān*, p. 25 [24b].

18 *Mīzān al-Zamān*, p. 16 [15a/15b].

needs of believers.[19]

Despite the established order in Turkestan under Russian rule, Ta'ib was much annoyed with "ignorant Sufis" who hated Russians and every foreign element. Furthermore these hypocritical Sufis publicly held contempt for Muslim judges, probably including Ta'ib himself. Given that Muslim judges were a pillar of the *Dār al-Islām* under Russian rule, such an insult was intolerable for him. Further reading leads us to understand who the main opponent for the author was. In the latter part of the *Tuḥfa-yi Tā'ib*, reflecting the recent history of Turkestan and Ferghana, Ta'ib writes as follows:

> However, in this country there are so many wretches, rascals, and Sufis who are worse than mad dogs in bazaars and doing nothing other than mischievous acts . . . Oppressed people, being under their control, could not afford to eliminate these instigators of *fitna* [rebellion]. Muhammad 'Ali, the mischievous shaykh of Mingtepa, once he was poor, was engaged in spindle making, and later pretended to be a great *murshid* [spiritual guide in Sufism]. By serving meals to ordinary people, he succeeded in inciting common people to obey him. Mean-spirited men from various groups and tribes rushed to his *khānqāh* [monastery]. Due to their extreme ignorance they gave high praise to this stupid man. Although Russian governors and officials witnessed the great mass of these rascals, they did not take enough measures to control them . . . In 1313 A.H., Muhammad 'Ali incited a rebellion [against Russians]. This revolt deprived Islam of its shine, and all the Muslims were driven away from the house of peace. Peaceful Egypt was damaged and the ease of the Nile turned into a mirage. Many people were executed and expelled from the country. The shaykh himself was sentenced to death due to this disgrace.[20]

It was Muhammad 'Ali, widely known as Dukchi Ishan,[21] in the Ferghana Valley who Ta'ib described as the main opponent in his *Tuḥfa-yi Tā'ib*. Dukchi Ishan was the leader of the Andijan Uprising in 1898, which aimed to expel the Russians from the Ferghana Valley to establish a Muslim state. This rebellion is known as one of the most significant events in Russian Turkestan. On the dawn of May 18, 1898, two thou-

19 *Tuḥfa-yi Ta'ib*, p. 3 [24b/25a].
20 *Tuḥfa-yi Tā'ib*, p. 23 [41a/41b].
21 *Īshān* is a Central Asian term for Sufi shaykhs and their "noble" descendants.

sand Muslim partisans commanded by Dukchi Ishan attacked Russian troops stationed at Andijan. This sudden attack ended unsuccessfully and the leaders, including Dukchi Ishan, were executed; however, it was the first true threat to Russian rule in Turkestan since its conquest in the middle of the 1860s. In order to consider the position and thoughts of Ta'ib regarding the uprising we need to look at Dukchi Ishan and his followers briefly.[22]

Muhammad 'Ali [Madali] was born around 1856 at Chimion qishlaq, located in the southeastern Ferghana Valley. His father, Muhammad Sabir, was supposedly an émigré from Kashghar. Many Turkic Muslims in Xinjiang, called *Qashgharlik* in the Ferghana Valley, immigrated to that valley when Muslim rebellions were suppressed repeatedly by the Qing authorities during the nineteenth century.[23] After serving some local *īshān*s, Muhammad 'Ali became a *murīd* [disciple] of a Naqshbandiya-Mujaddidiya shaykh, Ishan Sultankhan Torä, who enjoyed considerable status in the eastern Ferghana Valley.[24] Through devoted service to this *īshān*, Madali succeeded in gaining his master's confidence, and at last he was appointed a *khalīfa* [successor] of his venerable master. After his death in 1882 Madali began to work as an independent *īshān*. In the mid-1890s he was known a prominent Muslim leader in the Ferghana Valley, the most fertile and densely populated region in Russian Turkestan. We can consider some factors that promoted him to the position of an eminent *īshān*.

First, in 1886, when he was thirty-three years old, Dukchi Ishan made

22 For the details of the Andijan Uprising, see KOMATSU Hisao, "The Andijan Uprising Reconsidered," in SATO Tsugitaka, ed., *Muslim Societies: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), pp. 29–61.

23 For example, according to a Russian source, in the late 1820s after an unsuccessful intervention in the Muslim revolt in Kashgharia, Muhammad 'Alī Khān of Kokand decided to immigrate 70,000 Muslim families from Kashgharia under Qing rule to the Ferghana Valley. Although most of them returned to their homeland after the conclusion of the peace treaty, the town of Shahrikhan and its suburbs were inhabited mostly by the Kashgharis. "Obozrenie kokandskogo khanstva v nyneshnem ego sostoianii," *Zapiski Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva* 3 (1849), p. 196.

24 As to Sultankhan Torä see, KAWAHARA Yayoi, "Kokando hankoku ni okeru Marugiran no tora tachi: Nakushubandi kyodan kei no seija ichizoku ni kansuru ichi kosatsu [The Tūras of Margilan in the Kokand Khanate: A Consideration on a Naqshbandi Saint Family]," *Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies*, no. 20-2 (2005), pp. 277, 282–283.

his pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. In general the pilgrimage gave *īshān*s an even better reputation among their followers. In Dukchi Ishan's case he claimed to have received some spiritual instructions from the Prophet in a dream during his stay in Medina. According to his work '*Ibrat al-Ghāfilīn*,[25] the Prophet, attended by Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman and 'Ali, appointed him a Caliph to guide fellow Muslims in the right way.

Second, Dukchi Ishan devoted himself to charitable services such as feeding the needy and medical care, as noted by Ta'ib. In the 1890s the Ferghana Valley went through both outbreaks of cholera, which resulted in ten thousand deaths in 1892, and repeated large famines. These famines may be considered artificial disasters, because a disorderly spread of cotton fields had deprived the Ferghana Valley of its original capacity to be self-sufficient for food. In such a critical situation the devoted *īshān* would have been recognized as a "*mahdī*" by the Ferghani Muslims.

Third, the image of the *Mahdī*-saint was circulated by many *karāmat* [miracle] stories created by Dukchi Ishan's sincere *murīd*s. In fact they left an anonymous Turkic work, the so-called *Manāqib-i Dūkchī Īshān* [The Miracle Stories of Dukchi Ishan].[26] In this collection of miracle stories that succeeded the rich tradition of *Manāqib* literature in Central Asia, Dukchi Ishan is given the highest rank of *murshid*, equal to Baha' al-Din Naqshband (1318–1389). His miracle stories are found also in his '*Ibrat al-Ghāfilīn*, which tells how Dukchi Ishan often dreams of the Prophet and the four Rightly Guided Caliphs, and receives their favors and spiritual instructions. Needless to say, the visible and invisible *karāmat* enhanced the charismatic authority of Dukchi Ishan in the Muslim society of the Ferghana Valley.

Fourth, he succeeded in gaining a great number of *murīd*s, not only among the sedentary population such as Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Kashgharis,

25 As to this work see B. M. Babadžanov, "Dūkčī Īšān und der Aufstand von Andižan 1898," in Anke von Kügelgen, Michael Kemper, Allen J. Frank, eds, *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, vol. 2, *Inter-Regional and Inter-Ethnic Relations* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1998), pp. 167–191.

26 *Manāqib-i Dūkchī Īshān (Anonim zhitiia Dūkchī Īshāna – predvoditelia Andizhanskogo vosstaniia 1898 goda)*, vvedenie, perevod i kommentarii: B. M. Babadzhanov, Izdatel': A. fon Kiugel'gen (Almaty, 2004).

but also among the nomadic and semi-nomadic Kyrgyz people. Their Islamization began in the second half of the seventeenth century and the degree of Islamization was more remarkable in southern Kyrgyzstan surrounding the Ferghana Valley. It was the Naqshbandi *īshān*s who propagated Islam among these nomadic Kyrgyz who held their own pre-Islamic traditions and beliefs in southern Kyrgyzstan. *Īshān*s recruited their *murīd*s patiently among Kyrgyz nomads and, visiting them periodically, received a great amount of livestock as *nazr* [dedications]. Dukchi Ishan succeeded such predecessors in southern Kyrgyzstan. Near the Kyrgyz area he built a small mosque, which served as one of the most active centers of his *tarīqa* [Sufi order], and every summer he traveled among his Kyrgyz *murīd*s that constituted the main body of his *tarīqa*. At the same time they were enthusiastic advocates of the holy war to drive out Russian peasant immigrants from the Ferghana Valley.

Dukchi Ishan's firm position in the Muslim society of the eastern Ferghana Valley is testified by the following facts. First the *khānqāh* complex constructed in Mingtepa qishlaq located 35 kilometers south of Andijan is to be noted. Around his *khānqāh* with a mosque there existed a set of structures, such as a minaret 20 meters high, some *mihmānkhāna* or *hājjīkhāna*s (guest houses), *āskhāna* (soup kitchen), *maktab* (school) for 250 pupils, a large *atkhāna* (stable) accommodating 500 horses, and some workshops for brick making and milling. All of them were built and maintained by his *murīd*s. The large scale of this complex appearing in the countryside of the Ferghana Valley would sufficiently demonstrate the prestige of Dukchi Ishan.

Secondly, we have a Persian document of agreement composed in Safer 1312 AH or August 1894 by ten *mingbāshi*s (*volostnoi upravitel'*: county chief) and some elders in eastern Ferghana. The contents may be summarized as follows:

> As it is all obvious to the almighty God, a part of the Muslim community, because of their excessive carelessness and complete ignorance, are committing abominable deeds such as abandonment of community (*tark-i jamā'at*), nonfullfilment of religious duties and orders, ingestion of intoxicating drinks, immorality of women, and injustice in bazaars. Thereupon, we will entrust Mulla Muhammad 'Ali Ishan, son of Muhammad Sabir Sufi, with all authority to instruct us on what is approved by canonical law, to prevent us from

committing unlawful acts, and to punish offenders according to *Sharī'a*.[27]

This document clearly shows that Dukchi Ishan was charged with the purification of the Muslim community from its corrupted situation. This coincides with the main spirit of the '*Ibrat al-Ghāfilīn*, which lacks any kind of mystical preaching and instructs fellow Muslims to live in accordance with *Sharī'a*. As analyzed by Bakhtiyar Babadjanov,[28] Dukchi Ishan, recalling the glorious days of the Prophet and the first four Caliphs when true Islam prevailed, severely criticized fellow Muslims for their corruption, ignorance, and deviation from *Sharī'a*. Among others he criticized Muslim notables, established ulama and hereditary *īshān*s for their ignorance and corruption. We find in his alleged sayings as follows:

> Betrayers and those Muslims who act craftily in front of God and people exploit our people and deprave them by every method until they incur God's wrath and get a totally bad reputation with the help of Satan. Due to the temptation of disgusting Satan and the maneuvers of our betrayers, there is no *qādī* who is fair and impossible to bribe.[29]

His criticism of *qādī*s reminds us of Ta'ib's blame for the "ignorant Sufis" who "made fun of *qādī*s in front of people." There was a clear opposition between Dukchi Ishan and Ta'ib as to the legitimacy of *qādī*s. As a matter of fact, the 1886 Statute for the Turkestan region (*krai*) introduced an election system for local administrators that replaced the former appointment system and gave extensive powers to the civil judge in place of *qādī*s. However, this new election system unfamiliar to Muslim people brought about all kinds of unlawful acts and misfeasance in the local administration, especially in judicial matters. It can be said that Dukchi Ishan's criticism was not misdirected on this point.

In the introduction of the '*Ibrat al-Ghāfilīn*, he wrote that he aimed to explain the principles of Islam (such as *tawhīd* and *imān*), and to discuss approved acts and objectionable deeds according to the canonical law to

27 Fazilbek Atabekoghli, *Dukchi Ishan Vaqeäsi: Färghanädä istibdad jälladläri* (Samarkand, 1927), p. 29 [Facsimile of the Persian text].

28 Babadžanov, "Dūkčī Īšān," pp. 167–191; B. Babadzhanov, "Andizhanskoe vosstanie 1898 goda: 'Dervishskii gazavat' ili antikolonial'noe vystuplenie?" *O'zbekiston Tarixi* 2 (2001), pp. 25–30.

29 V. P. Nalivkin, *Tuzemtsy ran'she i teper'* (Tashkent, 1913), p. 133.

rid their society of its present evils. In this work Dukchi Ishan explained the most elementary principles of Islam such as the Five Pillars as well as the manners of purification before worship and religious services. It seems that his followers did not have any fundamental knowledge of Islam. In other words, Dukchi Ishan engaged in the re-Islamization of the people through his preaching of a true Islam based on *Sharī'a* and the *Sunna*.

Finally, we must consider the *ra'īs* office, one of the features of Dukchi Ishan's *tarīqa*. It consisted of some *khalīfa*s, who acted for the *īshān* in remote places, *ra'īs*es [supervisors of religious order and practice], and approximately twenty thousands common *murīd*s, an outstanding number in those days. In such a *tarīqa*, absolute obedience to their shaykh was generally emphasized and the *murīd*s were often compared to a corpse before a washer of the dead. But according to a Russian official report, Dukchi Ishan did not require of his *murīd*s unconditional submission and compelled neither dedication nor donation. Dukchi Ishan asked of them only observance of Islamic law and practice, and it was the *ra'īs* that were charged with their supervision. The appointment of *ra'īs* began in 1895. They are reported to have carried a *darra* (whip for punishments) granted by Dukchi Ishan. The comment of Lieutenant General Korol'kov on this *ra'īs* office is worth noting, because when "nominees of the ishan exercised authority parallel to ours," it meant the existence of dual power.[30] This situation also reminds us of the Adalat, the so-called Wahhabi organization that emerged in Namangan in the early 1990s.

In the mid-1890s Dukchi Ishan, commanding a large *tarīqa* based in his *khānqāh*, was exercising an authority that paralleled the Russian power. He had become a prominent Muslim leader in the Ferghana Valley both in name and reality. A contemporary Muslim official, Muhammad 'Aziz, who was working at the district office of Marghilan at the time of the Andijan Uprising, describes Dukchi Ishan as follows:

> He never spared efforts in offering his hospitality to every guest. The number of his *murīd*s was superior to that of any other groups' (*tāyfa, jamā'alar*) and a great amount of provisions dedicated to this *īshān* was generously distributed to the poor. When he found ulama among his guests, he used to ask

30 "Andizhanskoe vosstanie v 1898 g.," *Krasnyi arkhiv* 88 (1938), pp. 146, 173.

> questions regarding the regulations of namaz, fasting, and pilgrimage to the holy cities, and discussed issues regarding generosity toward poor widows and the righteous way of Muslims according to the Qur'an and *hadīth*.[31]

The large *tarīqa* of Dukchi Ishan is worthy of note. It included all the ethnic groups in the Ferghana Valley, such as Turks, Kashgharis, Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Kyrgyz. His active *tarīqa* succeeded in integrating such various social groups as wanderers, peasants, nomads, and even some notables. It provides us with an example of the formation of a communal order in a Central Asian Muslim society. The *tarīqa*, which penetrated even into the stratum of Muslim officials, would suggest the vitality of Ishanism.

Dukchi Ishan's activities, while showing many aspects of folk Islam, clearly proclaimed Islamic orthodoxy, as seen in his adherence to *Sharī'a* and the Sunna. In the Ferghana Valley, where there were neither Muslim political powers nor the judicial organization of ulama who could defend *Sharī'a* sufficiently, he could pretend to realize a Muslim communal identity in social and political spheres. His *tarīqa*, following the Naqshbandi tradition in Central Asia, operated for the re-Islamization in the Ferghana Valley that underwent great changes under Russian rule.

The Andijan Uprising awakened wide responses among Turkestani Muslims. As far as published works and views are concerned, they were exclusively negative to Dukchi Ishan and his rebellion as seen in Ta'ib.[32] For example, Mirza 'Abd al-'Azim Sami (1838–1907), a contemporary Bukharan historian, condemned "the reckless act" of Dukchi Ishan as follows:

> After drawing his *murīd*s from amongst many people in Ferghana, Tashkent, Osh and other cities, he was captured by a strong desire to be eminent because of his great wealth and great number of *murīd*s. He decided to assault Christians and attacked the railway station at Andijan, but because of the

31 Muḥammad 'Azīz Marghilānī, *Tārīkh-i 'Azīzī*, Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, Manuscript No. 11108, 184a–184b. This work is published in modern Uzbek: Muhämmäd Äziz Märghilaniy, *Tärikhi Äzizii: Färghanä char mustämläkäsi dävridä*, näshrgä täiyarlovchilär: Shadman Vahidov, Dilaram Sängirova (Tashkent, 1999).

32 For a recent study see also Aftandil Erkinov, "Andizhanskoe vosstanie i ego predvoditel' v otsenkakh poetov epokhi," *Vestnik Evrazii* 1 (2003), pp. 111–137.

> counterattack of the Russian army, his attempt ended in total failure. [They say,] when a member of a tribe commits a shameful act, all the members of the tribe, irrespective of age, lose their honor. During the reign of Tsar Alexander [*sic*], who brought peace to the country through his justice, the people of Andijan caused disturbances against the *fatvā-yi musālemat* [legal pronouncement on peace].[33]

Although Sami gives no detail about the *fatvā-yi musālemat*, supposedly most of the Hanafi school ulama in Turkestan approved this legal order to accept Russian rule as seen in the *Tuhfa-yi Tā'ib*. They denounced Dukchi Ishan not only because he brought to Turkestan Muslims such great calamities as a number of Muslim casualties caused by the Russian repression and the heavy indemnities imposed by the authorities, but also because he broke the *fatva* accepted by most of the Turkestani ulama. The rebellion of Dukchi Ishan was considered nothing other than a thoughtless and harmful act by those Muslim intellectuals who had witnessed the overwhelming power of Russia that subjugated Central Asian khanates a few decades prior. They were keen to prevent any *fitna* that could not only break the peaceful order under Russian rule, but also bring about a great schism among Turkestani Muslims. We suppose Ta'ib observed the rising of Dukchi Ishan as a terrible challenge against the established order. His all manners of abuse against Dukchi Ishan makes it impossible for us to imagine him as a hero of the national liberation movement against the Tsarist rule as described in the recent Uzbek historiography.

Restraint of rebellion against Russian rule was not only the case of Turkestani ulama. In 1900 even Abdurreshid Ibrahim (1857–1944), an ardent Pan-Islamist Tatar intellectual in Russia, preferred enlightenment of Muslim peoples to any resistance or rebellion against Russian rule. He writes:

> It does not matter if Tatars raise a rebellion [against Russian rule]. Indeed,

33 Mīrzā 'Abd al-'Aẓīm Sāmī, *Ta'rīkh-i Salāṭīn-i Manghītīya*, Izdanie teksta, predislovie, perevod i primechaniia: L. M. Epifanova (Moscow, 1962), 121b–122a. As to Sāmī's life and thought see Jo-Ann Gross, "Historical Memory, Cultural Identity, and Change: Mirza 'Abd al-'Aziz Sami's Representation of the Russian Conquest of Bukhara," in Daniel R. Brower and Edward J. Lazzerini, eds., *Russia's Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700–1917* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), pp. 203–226.

> internal rebellions bring about much more destruction to a government than any wars [with external enemies]. However, once a rebellion has been instigated, the people, by totally committing themselves to the cause, can suffer greater disasters than the government concerned. Look at rebellious peoples. Most of them were destroyed. For example, remember what dire consequences Chinese Muslims who raised a rebellion [against Qing rule] suffered. The blood of Muslims flowed as a flood. In short, any rebellion is not free from risk. Therefore, by securing our safety from within the social order as much as possible and utilizing it to advocate for science and education, we should avoid a rebellion.[34]

Needless to say, however, nobody could publicly dare praise or refer positively to an anti-Russian uprising during the Tsarist period. Among local Muslim intellectuals we find some that sympathized with or defended Dukchi Ishan and his *murīd*s even in the late Tsarist period. In fact, four years later the military governor of the Ferghana province (*oblast'*) wrote in his secret report to the Governor-General of Turkestan that despite local representative's efforts to denounce Dukchi Ishan, Muslim people remembered him as a martyr who sacrificed himself for the sake of God, and referred to his name with respect.[35]

A Prospect of the *Dār al-Islām*

While Russian authorities' brutal repression against the Andijan Uprising prevented the Muslim population from raising any banner of *ghazavat* [holy war] until 1916, Ta'ib's arguments of the *Dār al-Islām* might have been shared by Turkestani intellectuals during the Tsarist period. However, apart from theoretical arguments of the status of Muslim society, there was no common idea of the future of their society. In other words, there remained almost untouched an essential problem: how to sustain and develop the Muslim society threatened by growing socio-economic changes in the Russian Empire as well as by socio-political tensions at local levels due to the shortcomings of the

34 [Abdurreshid Ibrahim], *Rusya'da Müslümanlar yahud Tatar Akvamının tarihçesi, İşbu tarihçe Kazan fuzalâsından bir zatın eseridir* (Mısır [Cairo], 1318 [1900]), p. 84.

35 Älinäzär Egämnäzärov, *Siz Bilgän Dukchi Eshan: Hujjätli qissä* (Tashkent, 1994), p. 119.

Russian administration in colonial Turkestan. The task of elaborating this strategy was left to a new generation following that of Ta'ib. From this point of view a document prepared two years after the *Tuhfa-yi Tā'ib* is interesting for our consideration.

This is a draft for Muslim ecclesiastic and local administration in Turkestan (*Turkistān idāre-yi rūhānīya va dākhilīyasi*), in other words a proposal of Muslim autonomy in Turkestan. The author was one of the most influential Jadid intellectuals in Turkestan, Mahmudkhoja Behbudiy (1875–1919), who was in those days in charge of mufti [expounder of the Islamic law] in Samarkand and the members of the central committee of the Party of Muslim Union (*Ittifāq-i Muslimīn*). Encouraged by revolutionary waves in Russia, especially by political activism among Russian Muslims, Behbudiy submitted this draft of autonomy to the Muslim faction of the second and third *Duma* twice in April and November 1907.[36] In its preface he writes as follows:

> It is necessary to provide much more autonomy (*aftānāmiya*) to Turkestan than to Muslims in European Russia because Turkestanis long ago conducted local administration by themselves and are much more eager to enjoy it than their brothers in European Russia. Turkestanis' only desire is to organize a Muslim ecclesiastic and local administration and to have men of insight as the officials. This administration is not only for ecclesiastic affairs. It should cover also civil and local administration as well as jurisdictions that are now at the disposal of *qādī*s.[37]

This ambitious draft consists of seventy-four articles that regulate the organization and functions of the autonomy in detail. Turkestan autonomy was to be supervised by a five-year term *Shaykh al-Islām* elected from amongst the first class ulama who had a profound knowledge of *Sharī'a* and contemporary affairs. The central administration of Turkestan autonomy was to be located in Tashkent, and its branches were to

36 Necip Hablemitoğlu and Timur Kocaoğlu, [eds.,] "Behbudi'nin Türkistan Medeni Muhtariyeti Layıhası / Behbudi's Project for Turkistan Cultural Autonomy," in Timur Kocaoğlu, ed., *Türkistan'da Yenilik Hareketleri ve İhtilaller: 1900–1924, Osman Hoca Anısına İncelemeler* (Haarlem: SOTA, 2001), pp. 436–466. The original text is also presented. It is said that this document was preserved for many years in the archives of Ismail Bey Gasprinskii (1851–1914).

37 Ibid., pp. 439, 450–451.

be established in each province such as Syr Darya, Ferghana, Samarkand, Semirech'e (Yettisuv), and Transcaspia provinces. It is clear that this draft aimed to create a fair and appropriate judicial system which was lacking in Russian Turkestan. The seventh chapter, which contains ten articles, is dedicated to the detailed regulations of *qādī*s. The draft does not fail to mention the status of the Jews and foreigners, waqf endowments, school education, and water and land use in Turkestan. Apparently the author formulated a plan of high-degree autonomy in Turkestan. As for the echoes of the Andijan Uprising, Article 37 attracts our attention. It says:

> To let Sufis, the owners of Sufi lodges, and *murīd*s adapt the norms of *Sharī'a* without violating their freedom of conscience, and by this way to protect the common people from superstitions, idle talk, and waste of time.[38]

It should be noted that this draft pays attention to the strict inspection of officials and prohibits the migration of non-Muslims into Turkestan without the request from local people. It is interesting that these two issues were related to the causes of the Andijan Uprising. Although it is unknown whether Behbudiy read the *Tuhfa-yi Tā'ib*, this draft clearly aimed to secure the cohesion of Muslim society in Turkestan by reorganizing and enhancing the two pillars of the *Dār al-Islām*. Here we can see the starting point of the Muslim autonomous movement in Turkestan.

Behbudiy's proposal regarding the establishment of Muslim ecclesiastic administration in Turkestan called for some responses from Muslim intellectuals in Russia. For example Mu'allim Karīm Qārlī in Alma-Ata raised a question on the journal *Shūrā* about the status of this ecclesiastic administration in Turkestan—whether it should be independent or be attached to one of the existing Muslim Spiritual Boards in Russia.[39] To this question Behbudiy responded with an article "Turkestan administration" in the same journal in November 1908. In this article he described the characteristics of Russian administration in Turkestan in detail. Although admitting that Turkestani Muslims are enjoying juridical autonomy (*shar'ī āftānūmiya*) at the local level, he criticized disorder and

38 Ibid., pp. 442, 457.

39 Mu'allim Karīm Qārlī, "Ālmātā shahrindan: Āsyā-yi vusṭāda muftīlik haqqinda su'al," *Shūrā* 20 (1908), p. 631.

unsuitable conditions in juridical affairs. According to him these defects should have been attributed to the lack of the examination and control of *qādī*s, in other words, to the lack of central administration of juridical affairs. In conclusion, he argues for the establishment of an independent Muslim spiritual board in Turkestan. At the same time, he submitted his proposal to Count K. K. Palen (1861–1923) who conducted an extensive inspection of Russian administration in Turkestan in 1908–1909.[40] Although this plan for Turkestan autonomy was never realized, in 1917 we find Behbudiy once again in the drafting committee of the Turkic Federalist Party in Turkestan.[41]

40 Maḥmūd Khwāja Behbūdī, "Turkistān idārasi," *Shūrā* 23 (1908), pp. 720–723.

41 For the details see "The program of the Turkic Federalist Party in Turkistan (1917)," introd. and trans. KOMATSU Hisao, in H. B. Paksoy, ed., *Central Asia Reader: The Rediscovery of History* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1994), pp. 117–126.

2

UYAMA Tomohiko

A Particularist Empire: The Russian Policies of Christianization and Military Conscription in Central Asia

> [In the Semirech'e oblast before 1917,] peasants who had migrated earlier were governed by the Statute for *Guberniia*s and were under the jurisdiction of the governor [of the oblast]; new settlers were governed by instructions for migrants and the Main Administration of Agriculture; Kirgiz [i.e., Kazakhs and Kyrgyz] were governed by the Steppe Statute and the governor; cities were governed by the City Statute; Cossacks were governed by their special statute and the ataman; Taranchis [Uyghurs] were governed by the Turkestan Statute and the governor.
> —From a report of Ataman Ionov of the Semirech'e Cossack Army to Admiral Kolchak, April 30, 1919[1]

The above citation reveals how complicated and chaotic the administrative system in Central Asia was under Tsarist rule. The basic administrative structure was based on the territorial principle, but even on the same territory, people were treated differently according to their ethnicity and social estate (*soslovie*). Recently Matsuzato Kimitaka has argued that the Russian Empire was built by a purely territorial (not ethnic) principle, and ethnicity mattered seriously for administrators only where

1 Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (GARF), f. 1701, op. 1, d. 54, l. 2ob.

"respectful enemies" (such as Poles, Germans, Tatars, etc.) existed.[2] However, this seems to be an oversimplification. It is more correct to say that territorial, ethnic and estate principles were curiously entangled with each other in the administrative system of the Russian Empire.

I leave detailed examination of the administrative system for a separate investigation. Here, I cite the different approaches of the Russian administration to ethnic groups and estates in order to challenge various traditional views of the Russian Empire: that it was a ruthless "Russifier"; that it pursued the policy of "divide and rule"; that it had a universalistic and harmonious principle for integration, different from the principle of a nation-state; that in its last stage the Russian Empire was transforming itself to a nation-state. All of these views are partly justified but are insufficient to explain the chaotic situation as mentioned above. We have to answer a fundamental question: did Russia have a clear principle for integrating the vast country? If yes, what was the principle, and if no, how can we characterize the Russian policy of governing its "peripheries"?

As Russia officially became an empire as late as 1721, one can assume that it had a mixed character of a classic empire and a modern state. The traditional principle for integrating an empire is usually loose but universalistic, and most typically connected to the divine authority of the emperor. In Russia, the authority of the Tsar was tied to Russian Orthodoxy. On one hand, the empire promoted non-Russian elites who voluntarily accepted Orthodoxy, and on the other, in an attempt to make peoples of the Volga region loyal subjects of the empire, it pursued violent Christianization there in the sixteenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries. Although during the reign of Catherine II the political influence of Orthodoxy was curtailed by the idea of Enlightenment, it was reinvigorated from the last years of the reign of Alexander I.[3] As Sergei Uvarov, the Minister of Education put it, Orthodoxy constituted one of the three pillars of the educational policy of the empire. The first

2 MATSUZATO Kimitaka, "General-gubernatorstva v Rossiiskoi imperii: ot etnicheskogo k prostranstvennomu podkhodu," in *Novaia imperskaia istoriia postsovetskogo prostranstva* (Kazan, 2004), pp. 427–458.

3 Edward C. Thaden, *Conservative Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Russia* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), p. 13.

half of this paper examines how Tsarist officials debated the possibility of Christianization of Central Asians, especially Kazakhs.

While various political and social measures, including education, can be interpreted as "modern" ways of integration, the second part of this paper focuses on military conscription. In the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many states in the world introduced universal conscription, and it served as an instrument for nation building. In Central Asia, where the Russian administration had too little material and human resources to build an elaborate system of universal education for the multilingual population, military conscription could be an easier way for integrating them. As we shall see later, creation of militias was also discussed as a substitution to universal conscription.

If I disclose a part of the conclusion, the Tsarist administration did not fully embark on either Christianization or military conscription. Therefore it is understandable, in a sense, that only a few historians have paid attention to these two topics. Robert Geraci has studied activities of individual missionaries in the Kazakh steppe, but Tsarist officials' attitudes toward them is almost out of his scope.[4] Sebastien Peyrouse directs his attention to church-state relations, but he asserts without concrete evidence that Tsarist officials were always indifferent or hostile to the Church's attempts at Christianizing Central Asians.[5] Joshua Sanborn analyses the question of military conscription in the Russian Empire as a whole, but his attempt at putting the entire story into the framework of nation building seems one-sided.[6] Mark von Hagen also has made a concise overview of ethnic aspects of army reforms.[7] In short, there is no

4 Robert P. Geraci, "Going Abroad or Going to Russia? Orthodox Missionaries in the Kazakh Steppe, 1881–1917," in Robert P. Geraci and Michael Khodarkovsky, eds., *Of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversion, and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), pp. 274–310.

5 Sébastien Peyrouse, "Les missions orthodoxes entre pouvoir tsariste et allogènes: Un exemple des ambiguïtés de la politique coloniale russe dans les steppes kazakhes," *Cahiers du Monde russe* 45, no. 1–2 (2004), pp. 109–136.

6 Joshua A. Sanborn, *Drafting the Russian Nation: Military Conscription, Total War, and Mass Politics, 1905–1925* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2003).

7 Mark von Hagen, "The Limits of Reform: The Multiethnic Imperial Army Confronts Nationalism, 1874–1917," in David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye and Bruce W. Menning, eds., *Reforming the Tsar's Army: Military Innovation in Imperial Russia from Peter the Great to the Revolution* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2004), pp. 34–55.

detailed study of either Christianization policy or the question of military conscription in Russian Central Asia. This paper aims at discerning the characteristics of Russian colonial policy through the long debates on measures that were never realized.

Christianization Policy in Central Asia

Early Attempts at Proselytism and the Steppe Commission

The first proposal we know for organized proselytism in the Kazakh steppe was the one that was made in 1828 by the Tobol'sk bishop to found a mission there. Ivan Vel'iaminov, the governor-general of Western Siberia, declined it as "premature."[8] However, at least in the mid-nineteenth century, missionary activities were apparently carried out in a limited scale. According to the Steppe Commission (see below), 127 Kazakhs in the Oblast of the Orenburg Kirgiz (the western part of the Kazakh steppe) were baptized from 1855 to 1864, and 109 Kazakhs in the Oblast of the Siberian Kirgiz (the northern central part of the Kazakh steppe) were baptized from 1860 to 1864. The commission supposed that there were baptized Kazakhs also in the Semipalatinsk oblast in a number no fewer than in the Oblast of the Siberian Kirgiz.[9]

In 1863, a certain Stefan Pshenishnikov, a citizen of Yekaterinburg, proposed that the Orthodox Church open a mission in Petropavlovsk. He believed that the Kazakhs were ignorant of Islamic principles and were interested in Christianity. He argued that only those peoples who believed in the same religion as the Tsar could truly devote themselves to him. Some local officials supported the proposal, but others opposed saying that the Kazakhs, especially the rich and influential, firmly believed in Islam and it would be dangerous to propagate Christianity among them. Finally, both the Tobol'sk consistory and the governor-general of Western Siberia, Aleksandr Diugamel', rejected the proposal.[10]

8 Peyrouse, "Les missions orthodoxes," p. 114.

9 RGVIA (Russian State Military History Archive), f. 400, op. 1, d. 120, l. 71ob.

10 TsGA RK (Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan), f. 369, op. 1, d. 1932g, ll. 1–6ob.; RGVIA, f. 400, op. 1, d. 120, l. 70ob.; V. Iu. Sofronov and E. L. Savkina, "Deiatel'nost' protivomusul'manskoi missii v Tobol'skoi eparkhii" [http://www.zaimka

Soon, however, voices of support for proselytism appeared from the governmental side, when the Steppe Commission (1865–1868) was formed and assigned to study various aspects of Central Asian society in order to draft statutes for administration there. One of the tasks of the Commission was to investigate how to prevent a further growth of the influence of Islam on the Kazakhs and propagate Christianity among them. The government commissioned this assignment because it was interested in the view that the Kazakhs still adhered to Shamanism and were not well disposed to Islam, which was allegedly brought by Tatars and Bashkirs.[11]

The data produced by the Commission show that Islam had taken root in the Kazakh steppe more deeply than the government had expected. There were 32 official mosques in the districts under the jurisdiction of the Governor-Generalship of Western Siberia, and while there was no officially sanctioned mosque in the localities under the jurisdiction of the Governor-Generalship of Orenburg, there supposed to be a lot of unofficial mosques and mullahs. Among the mullahs there were not only Tatars, but also Kazakhs, including "qojas" (those who claim to be descendants of Prophet Muhammad or the first four Caliphs).[12]

The Commission, however, criticized the pro-Islamic policy since the era of Catherine II, and vigorously advocated thwarting the influence of Islam on the Kazakhs, asserting that it was an important question whether the Kazakhs would connect or forever disunite the Muslims of European Russia and those of Innermost Asia. The Commission cited a work of Shoqan Wälikhanov (Valikhanov),[13] a Kazakh intellectual who criticized Islam, as an argument for the necessity of alienating the Kazakhs from Islam. The Commission claimed that, while it had been hitherto inexpedient to propagate Orthodoxy because of continuing Kazakh uprisings, now the time was ripe. It recommended that, in order to avoid

.ru/08_2002/sofronov_mission/]. Here and below, all the URLs are valid as of January 10, 2006 unless the date of access is indicated.

11 RGVIA, f. 1450, op. 2, d. 12, ll. 11ob.–12ob.

12 RGVIA, f. 400, op. 1, d. 120, ll. 67ob.–68; f. 1450, op. 2, d. 12, ll. 106–107, 243–244, 306–310ob., 327, 370–371ob., 395–396, 415, 448.

13 Chokan Valikhanov, "O musul'manstve v stepi," in his *Sobranie sochinenii v piati tomakh*, vol. 4 (Alma-Ata, 1985).

arousing Kazakhs' suspicion, missionary activities be carried out not only by priests but also by lay Christians, and they enter into auls (nomadic villages) as peddlers, teachers or doctors, and use the Bible and other religious literature in Kazakh or Tatar.[14]

The anti-Islamic intention of the Steppe Commission was soon realized. The "Provisional Statute for the Administration of Ural'sk, Torghay, Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk Oblasts,"[15] which was drafted by the Commission and came into effect in 1868, removed the Kazakhs from the jurisdiction of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly,[16] although left the Tatars in the Steppe under the Assembly's jurisdiction as before. The posts of *ukaznoi mulla*s (mullahs licensed by the Assembly and the provincial authorities) for the Kazakhs were abolished, and a volost (canton) was allowed to have only one mullah, elected from Russian-subject ethnic Kazakhs and sanctioned by the oblast governor. *Waqf* (religious endowment) was prohibited in the Steppe. In Turkestan, Muslims also were placed outside the control of any religious board, although *waqf* was permitted to remain.

I have no information on the immediate consequences of the Commission's recommendation on Christianization, but in the years when the government and the Church fought against massive reconversion of baptized Tatars to Islam in the Volga region (culminated in 1866), there was certainly a period of increasing missionary zeal. The St. Petersburg Missionary Society proposed to set up a "Kirgiz" (i.e., Kazakh) mission in 1866 and the Holy Synod (the highest governing body of the Russian Orthodox Church) repeated the proposal in 1870, although the Tobol'sk consistory cautioned that it was difficult to propagate Christianity among Muslims, especially the Kazakhs, who were scattered over a huge space.[17]

14 RGVIA, f. 400, op. 1, d. 120, ll. 67–73ob.

15 M. G. Masevich, ed., *Materialy po istorii politicheskogo stroia Kazakhstana* (Alma-Ata, 1960), pp. 323–340.

16 The Spiritual Assembly, when established in 1789, had a close relationship to Russia's Kazakh policy. The first Mufti, Mukhamedzhan Khuseinov, called himself the "Kirgiz-Kaisak Mufti" and had a considerable influence on the Kazakh Junior Juz. See D. D. Azamatov, *Orenburgskoe magometanskoe dukhovnoe sobranie v kontse XVIII–XIX vv.* (Ufa, 1999), pp. 29–30, 46–48.

17 Sofronov and Savkina, "Deiatel'nost' protivomusul'manskoi missii."

Missionary activities made a tangible development in Semirech'e among immigrants from China (Kalmyks [Oirats], Daurs, Sibos, Solons, Manchus, Han Chinese). They escaped from Muslim insurgents in Xinjiang and moved to Russian Semirech'e in about 1865–1867. After the visit of the Tomsk bishop, many of them converted to Orthodoxy (721 people by 1872) and were incorporated into the Cossack estate. As reasons of their conversion, Nikolai Ostroumov (a famous pedagogue with a missionary background) cited the endeavor of Orthodox priests; the fear of immigrants that the aid money promised by the government might be revoked if they refused conversion; and the fact that they, familiar with Buddhist pictures, were not bewildered by icons like Muslims were. In Sarkan (Sarkand) village of Kapal uezd (district), the center of the area where immigrants lived, the only missionary priest in Turkestan was appointed. Father Vasilii Pokrovskii, the second Sarkan missionary who was called a "Russian lama" by Kalmyks, worked hard for enlightening and improving the life of immigrants, and converted 9 Kazakhs as well.[18]

Baptized Kalmyk immigrants also lived near Vernyi (Almaty), the center of the Semirech'e oblast. With the initiative of the military governor Gerasim Kolpakovskii, himself a devout Christian, the Semirech'e Orthodox Brotherhood was founded in 1869 with the aim of aiding Kalmyks and expanding missionary activities. However, priests who were not specialized in missionary activities were unable to maintain regular contacts with Kalmyks, who continued their nomadic lives despite nominally being a part of the Semirech'e Cossack Army and did not well understand Russian, and the knowledge of the new converts about Christianity remained superficial.[19] Even in Sarkan, where multiethnic Chinese immigrants mingled with Russian settlers and Cossacks, the lingua franca was said to be Kazakh, and it is hard to say that bap-

18 N. P. Ostroumov, "Kitaiskie emigranty v Semirechenskoi oblasti Turkestanskogo kraia i rasprostranenie sredi nikh pravoslavnogo khristianstva," *Pravoslavnyi sobesednik*, March 1879, pp. 270–271; July 1879, pp. 224–230, 245–259; August 1879, pp. 364–365; V. Koroleva, "Zhizneopisanie Arkhiepiskopa Sofonii (Sokol'skogo)," *Prostor* 12 (2003) [http://prostor.samal.kz/texts/num1203/kor1203.htm (accessed May 29, 2005)].

19 TsGA RK, f. 234, op. 1, d. 1, ll. 18–19, 69–69ob., 83ob., 85; d. 5, ll. 1–12. The statute of the Semirech'e Orthodox Brotherhood is printed in Ostroumov, "Kitaiskie emigranty," August 1879, pp. 369–375.

tized immigrants were "Russified." In the second half of the 1870s, the Semirech'e Orthodox Brotherhood remained only on paper.[20] In around 1885, most of the former immigrants returned to China. Some of the returnees explained that they had been in debt and servitude to Russian peasants, and that Russian Cossacks were hostile to them.[21] Thus, conversion to Orthodoxy did not guarantee their welfare.

Il'minskii, Kaufman, Kolpakovskii

In this epoch of active missionary work, Nikolai Il'minskii, a famous pedagogue and missionary, tried to introduce Orthodox education in Central Asia. Although often misunderstood, Il'minskii usually engaged not in proselytizing Muslims, but in preventing apostasy of baptized non-Russians and reducing the influence of Tatar Muslims on other ethnic groups. Thus, this proposal to give Orthodox education to Central Asian Muslims (mainly Kazakhs) was an exceptional case in his biography. He was inspired with hope by the above-mentioned conversion of Kalmyks and the existence of about 100 families of Kazakhs in Chernyi Anui on the Altai, who migrated from the Steppe and converted to Orthodoxy. In 1869, he proposed to the Turkestan governor-general Konstantin von Kaufman to establish Christian alien (*inorodcheskie*) schools to spread Orthodox education among the Kazakhs, and recommended his own disciple at the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy as the director of educational affairs in all Turkestan.[22]

Kaufman, who advocated education without religious distinction in order to "make Orthodoxes and Muslims equally useful citizens of Russia," bluntly rejected Il'minskii's proposal.[23] As is well known, Kaufman thought that Islam in Central Asia, having been supported by state power under khans and amirs, would decay if the authorities neither supported nor provoked it. Therefore, he took a non-intervention approach with Islam and refrained from propagating Orthodoxy in order

20 Ostroumov, "Kitaiskie emigranty," August 1879, pp. 361–362, 378.

21 V. G. Datsyshen, *Ocherki istorii Rossiisko-Kitaiskoi granitsy vo vtoroi polovine XIX – nachale XX vekov* (Kyzyl, 2001), pp. 49–50, 156–160.

22 P. V. Znamenskii, *Uchastie N. I. Il'minskogo v dele inorodcheskogo obrazovaniia v Turkestanskom krae* (Kazan, 1900), pp. 13–20.

23 Znamenskii, *Uchastie N. I. Il'minskogo*, pp. 20–21.

not to antagonize pious (in the wording of those days, "fanatic") Muslims.[24] For him, apparently, Il'minskii's proposal laid too much emphasis on Christian elements in education.

However, it seems that Kaufman did not always oppose missionary activities among the Kazakhs, who were thought to be less "fanatic" than sedentary people of Central Asia. In 1870, he sent a letter to the military governor of Syr Darya oblast that told about the Holy Synod's support of the above-mentioned Steppe Commission's proposal for Christianization, "for information and guidance." [25] Kolpakovskii, whose initiative was instrumental to proselytizing Kalmyks and Kazakhs in Semirech'e, was subordinate to Kaufman, and there is no indication that Kaufman attempted to stop it. The cathedral of the Tashkent-Turkestan diocese (*eparkhiia*) was opened in Vernyi in 1871, because Kaufman did not allow it in Tashkent.[26] This judgment also seems to suggest that he differentiated religious policy in Semirech'e with a predominant Kazakh and Kyrgyz population from that in other oblasts with a sizeable sedentary population.

In 1881, the Tashkent-Turkestani bishop proposed to establish a missionary monastery on the shore of lake Issyk-Kul. The plan was realized with the active support of Kolpakovskii, who was then the acting Turkestan governor-general.[27] He became the first governor-general of the Steppe (having jurisdiction over Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk and Semirech'e oblasts) in 1882, and continued to advocate Christianization of the Kazakhs. In his report to the Tsar, he wrote that Tatars and Bukharans were propagating Islam among the Kazakhs, who had been indifferent to religions but now were interested in them because the old

24 Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 53–56; Daniel R. Brower, "Islam and Ethnicity: Russian Colonial Policy in Turkestan," in Daniel R. Brower and Edward J. Lazzerini, eds., *Russia's Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700–1917* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), pp. 115–135.

25 TsGA RUz (Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan), f. 17, op. 1, d. 2934, ll. 13–13ob.

26 Priests of the diocese demanded the move of the cathedral to Tashkent, and it was realized in late 1916. "Kratkii ocherk po istorii Tashkentskoi i Sredneaziatskoi eparkhii" [http://www.pravoslavie.uz/histor01.htm].

27 RGIA (Russian State Historical Archive), f. 796, op. 162, d. 1103, ll. 5–30ob.

tribalistic moral basis had been shaken and a new one had not yet been created. The Orthodox Church, he argued, could also take advantage of the Kazakhs' interest in religions and openly propagate Orthodoxy. He envisioned forming villages of poor baptized Kazakhs, which would become rich with the help of the Church and subsequently, attract more people. In a larger scope, he wanted to assimilate the empire's Asian domains through achieving "spiritual affinity" (i.e., Christianization).[28]

It should be noted that Kolpakovskii did not think that he was oppressing the Kazakhs by his Christianization policy. He acted as their paternalistic protector, restricting settlement of peasants from other regions of the empire, and seemed to have supposed that Christianization did not contradict his policy of "protecting" Kazakhs from Tatar Muslim culture.[29] However, in *Dala Walayatïnïng Gazetí*, a newspaper published with his initiative, there was no article about Christianization, and he probably understood the delicate nature of this matter.

Christianization Policy Loses Its Supporters

Not all of Kolpakovskii's subordinates shared his zeal, and he was compelled to forbid uezd officials from obstructing missionary work in 1885.[30] Apparently, there were many officials who regarded missionary activities in the Steppe difficult and even dangerous. After all, few practical measures for Christianization were undertaken before he left the Steppe in 1889.

The second governor-general of the Steppe, Maksim Taube, was much more cautious about propagating Christianity. In 1889, the Tobol'sk-Siberian bishop Avramii visited the Akmolinsk oblast and talked to the Kazakhs, as he felt that they were interested in Christianity. He then

28 "Vsepoddanneishii otchet Stepnogo General-Gubernatora za 1887 i 1888 gody," pp. 43–45 (RGVIA, f. 400, op. 1, d. 1292, ll. 23–24).

29 On paternalism of the Governor-Generalship of the Steppe as manifested in *Dala Walayatïnïng Gazetí*, see UYAMA Tomohiko, "A Strategic Alliance between Kazakh Intellectuals and Russian Administrators: Imagined Communities in *Dala Walayatïnïng Gazetí* (1888–1902)," in HAYASHI Tadayuki, ed., *The Construction and Deconstruction of National Histories in Slavic Eurasia* (Sapporo: Slavic Research Center, 2003), pp. 237–259 [http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/sympo/02summer/2002summer-contents.html].

30 TsGA RK, f. 64, op. 1, d. 5300, ll. 1–4.

proposed opening a missionary post in Shchuchinskaia (near Kokshetau). However, Avramii's visit disturbed the local Kazakhs and some reportedly planned to send a delegation to the Tsar to ask for the appointment of a Mufti who would defend Muslim Kazakhs from being forcefully converted to Christianity.[31] Taube wrote to Avramii that, although he supported the idea of opening a missionary post (he apparently used diplomatic language), missionary activities needed maximum discretion in order to avoid negative effects such as that made by Avramii's visit. He argued that a missionary must have a perfect command of Kazakh, know Persian and Arabic, fundamentally study the Qur'an and other Islamic prayer books, have a basic medical knowledge, live as the Kazakhs do, and, like a mullah, wander from aul to aul as a healer or merchant.[32] Although some missionaries did study Islam (especially at the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy) and the Kazakh language (some of them were baptized Tatars, whose language was close to Kazakh), it is natural to assume that almost no missionary could satisfy all these qualifications.

Avramii did not wait for official permission to establish a missionary post, and ordered the priest in Shchuchinskaia to serve concurrently as a missionary. The priest asked the uezd chief to explain to volost and aul officials that his activities were not dangerous to Kazakhs, and to give him the right of free stagecoach use. But the uezd chief refused, citing the disturbance caused by the visit of Avramii. The oblast governor also wrote that the authorities could not assist the priest because there was no officially admitted missionary post.[33]

Missionary activities were also complicated by the fact that various parts of the Kazakh steppe fell under the jurisdiction of different dioceses: Tobol'sk, Tomsk, Tashkent-Turkestan, Orenburg and Astrakhan. Kolpakovskii advocated establishing a Omsk subdiocese of Tobol'sk

31 TsGA RK, f. 64, op. 1, d. 464, ll. 4–6ob. Up until the October Revolution, Kazakhs repeatedly raised the question either of their reincorporation to the Orenburg Muftiate (Muslim Spiritual Assembly), or of the establishment of their own Muftiate. See, for example, D. Iu. Arapov, ed., *Islam v Rossiiskoi imperii (zakonodatel'nye akty, opisaniia, statistika)* (Moscow, 2001), pp. 302–306, 312.

32 TsGA RK, f. 64, op. 1, d. 436, ll. 27–32.

33 TsGA RK, f. 369, op. 1, d. 2192, ll. 2–6ob.

diocese in order to invigorate missionary activities among the Kazakhs.[34] In 1895, a full-fledged Omsk diocese was opened, and the "Kirgiz" mission (separated from the Altai mission in 1882) of the Tomsk diocese, as well as the nine missionary posts administered by the Tomsk and Tobol'sk dioceses, were transferred to it.[35] It seems, however, that local officials did not give it much support. In his report to the Tsar, Taube wrote about the opening of the Omsk diocese without mentioning its missionary tasks.[36]

Let us see here the result of missionary activities at the end of the nineteenth century. There are no precise statistics covering all the converts in Central Asia, but the 1897 census gives an approximate answer. The table shows the number of Orthodox Christians who answered that their mother tongue was one of the Central Asian languages and presumably belonged to the corresponding ethnic group. Except Kazakh Christians in Tomsk guberniia (the Altai), the number is modest. It is interesting that there are some Christians among sedentary people ("Sarts," Uzbeks, Tajiks) proselytizing whom was supposed to be prohibited by the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan, but the circumstances of their conversion are not clear.

34 "Vsepoddanneishii otchet Stepnogo General-Gubernatora za 1883 god," pp. 36–38 (TsGA RK, f. 64, op. 1, d. 125, ll. 18ob.–19ob.).

35 Geraci, "Going Abroad or Going to Russia?" pp. 285–286; D. V. Katsiuba, *Altaiskaia dukhovnaia missiia: voprosy istorii, prosveshcheniia, kul'tury i blagotvoritel'nosti* (Kemerovo, 1998), p. 34.

36 "Vsepoddanneishii otchet Stepnogo General-Gubernatora za 1885 god" (TsGA RK, f. 64, op. 1, d. 125, l. 274).

Table 2.1. **The number of Orthodox Christians who answered that their mother tongue was a Central Asian language in the 1897 census**

	Kazakh	Kyrgyz	Turkmen	"Sart"	"Uzbek"	Others	Total
Ural'sk oblast	65	-	-	-	-	-	65
Torghay oblast	44	-	-	-	-	-	44
Akmolinsk oblast	161	-	-	-	-	-	161
Semipalatinsk oblast	286	-	-	0	-	-	286
Semirech'e oblast	105	-	-	3	-	"Taranchi" 3	111
Syr Darya oblast	31	-	-	8	2	"Turkic" 13 Karakalpak 1	55
Ferghana oblast	-	3	-	104	3	"Turco-Tatar" 3 Tajik 2	115
Samarkand oblast	1	-	-	12	20	Tajik 6	39
Transcaspia oblast	6	-	34	0	0	-	40
Subtotal for Central Asian oblasts	699	3	34	127	25	28	916
Astrakhan guberniia	17	-	4	-	-	-	21
Orenburg guberniia	80	-	-	-	-	-	80
Tobol'sk guberniia	37	-	-	-	-	-	37
Tomsk guberniia	1069	3	3	0	1	-	1076
Subtotal for neighboring guberniias	1203	3	7	-	1	-	1214
Total	1902	6	41	127	26	28	2130

Compiled from the data in: N. A. Troinitskii, ed., *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleiia Rossiiskoi imperii*, 1897, vols. 2, 28, 78, 79, 81–89 (St. Petersburg, 1904–1905).

In the above table, it is possible that some of those who shared their mother tongue with few people in the given oblast or guberniia are not included. This is due to the source material sometimes grouping them into the general category of "Turkish-Tatar (turetsko-tatarskie)" languages. In addition, the language names in quotation marks are either not used today or used in a different manner. "Sart" and "Uzbek" (and probably also "Turkic [tiurkskii]" and "Turco-Tatar [tiurko-tatarskie]") are present-day Uzbek. "Taranchi" is a part of present-day Uyghur. In many of the volumes, Kazakh is called "kirgizskii" ("kirgiz-kaisatskii" in the Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk, Semirech'e and Samarkand oblasts,

and "kirgizsko-kaisatskii" in Tomsk guberniia), and Kyrgyz is called "kara-kirgizskii." However, the volume on the Semirech'e oblast, where many Kyrgyz lived, mentions only Kazakh ("kirgiz-kaisatskii"); I suppose that a part of the 105 "Kazakh"-speaking Orthodoxes listed in the above table (among others, 17 in Przheval'sk uezd and 13 in Pishpek uezd) were actually Kyrgyz. The volume on Syr Darya oblast lumps Kazakh and Kyrgyz together as "kirgiz-kaisatskii i kara-kirgizskii," but most people listed in that item were probably Kazakhs.

The End of the Christianization Policy

As we saw through the proposal of the Steppe Commission, a main motive of the Christianization policy in the Kazakh steppe was to caution against activities of Tatar Muslims and the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly. This caution had not waned since then. In 1877, the Interior Minister, with the approval of the Tsar, prohibited the use of the Tatar language in official documents in the Steppe and ordered the replacement of the Tatar clerks of volosts with Kazakhs, although the order was based on a misunderstanding: most volost clerks were in fact Russians.[37] In 1899, stimulated by the report by the governor-general of Turkestan, Sergei Dukhovskoi, on "Islam in Turkestan," the Minister of War asked the governor-general of the Steppe to eliminate the influence of the Orenburg Mufti on the Steppe as far as possible. Some officials discussed the possibility of removing the Tatars in the Steppe from the jurisdiction of the Spiritual Assembly.[38] It seems that the Mufti really had a considerable authority not only among the Tatars, but also among the Kazakhs. According to the chief of the Petropavlovsk uezd, when the Mufti visited there in 1900, a lot of influential Kazakhs from remote places in the Steppe came to see him.[39]

There is, however, no indication that officials of the Steppe region thought of confronting Islam and the Tatars with Orthodox missionaries any longer. In Turkestan, Dukhovskoi severely condemned the Tashkent-Turkestan bishop when the latter said in 1900 that the time was ripe for missionary activities. He cited the Boxer Rebellion in China as evidence that missionary activities could provoke a harsh reaction, and judged that, if missionaries were powerless in relation to the Volga

37 TsGA RK f. 369, op. 1, d. 2040a.
38 TsGA RK f. 369, op. 1, d. 3696, ll. 1–108ob.
39 Ibid., l. 73ob.

Tatars surrounded by Christians, they had no chance in Turkestan, one of the centers of the Islamic world. He wrote that it was necessary to make local Muslims believe that the Tsar treated all his subjects with paternalistic care irrespective of faith. He regarded, however, the missionary activities in Semirech'e as permissible.[40]

By the last years of the nineteenth century, the pace of the Kazakhs' Christianization had not greatly increased in comparison with the period before the organization of missions: the "Kirgiz" mission of the Omsk diocese baptized about fifty or sixty Kazakhs per year,[41] although this figure may be exaggerated. Moreover, most of the few Kazakh converts were *jataq*s (poor people without livestock who constituted a marginal part of Kazakh society). Apparently, they accepted the new faith in the hope of receiving economic privileges. There were also cases where people, including criminals, who had bad relations with their relatives and neighbors, escaped to towns and converted to Christianity.[42]

The Tsar's manifesto of religious toleration (April 17, 1905), which conditionally sanctioned conversion from Orthodoxy to other faiths, dealt a near-fatal blow to the missionaries. Not only baptized Kazakhs, but also Tatars, Chuvash and even some Russians in the Steppe petitioned for permission to convert to Islam, although not all of them received permission.[43] According to a correspondence from Semipalatinsk to a Muslim newspaper in St. Petersburg in 1911, almost all the baptized Kazakhs there went back to Islam and no Kazakh had been newly converted after 1905.[44]

Still, the Church tried to expand missionary activities, and founded an anti-Muslim mission in Tashkent in 1912 under circumstances unknown

40 RGVIA, f. 400, op. 1, d. 2689, ll. 1–5.

41 Geraci, "Going Abroad or Going to Russia?" p. 291.

42 TsGA RUz, f. 17, op. 1, d. 3026, ll. 1, 4.

43 TsGA RK, f. 369, op. 1, d. 3885. Abandonnement of Orthodoxy was observed widely in the empire then. According to the information collected by the Holy Synod, 36,229 people converted from Orthodoxy to Islam in 14 gubernias in the Volga-Urals and Western Siberia from April 17, 1905 to December 1907. Conversion to Catholicism in the west of the empire was even more large-scale. See M. A. Volkhonskii, "Natsional'nyi vopros vo vnutrennei politike pravitel'stva v gody Pervoi russkoi revoliutsii," *Otechestvennaia istoriia* 5 (2005), p. 52.

44 *V mire musul'manstva* 16 (August 5, 1911).

to researchers, with little or no result.[45] At the Kazan Missionary Congress in 1910, some missionaries discussed how to revitalize their activities in the Steppe independently from the administrative authorities, but they did not find an answer. They faced obstacles with not only policy change, but also with the attitudes of ordinary Russians. One missionary attributed the apostasy of baptized Kazakhs to the hostility they encountered from their Russian neighbors.[46]

The Issyk-Kul monastery, a souvenir of Kolpakovskii, proved almost incapable of doing missionary work among the surrounding Kyrgyz population.[47] During the revolt of 1916, Kyrgyz rebels attacked the Issyk-Kul monastery and killed seven monks.[48] When Kyrgyz and Dungan rebels approached the city of Przheval'sk, the city church rang the bell as an alarm, and citizens (ethnic Russians) rushed into the church square with arms and prayed to God.[49] This scene is highly symbolic in the sense that the Orthodox Church, after all, belonged to the Russians, not the native peoples of Central Asia.

In order to carry out activities in unfamiliar places, and also because of their close relations with state policy, missionaries needed the assistance and permission of the authorities. However, permission was often given after much delay or was not given at all. The Orthodox Church itself had a hierarchical and bureaucratic structure, and could not work flexibly. By contrast, Muslim mullahs went into the Steppe as peddlers and healers without bureaucratic procedures, and could easily adapt themselves to the local society. As documents of the Steppe Commission and General Taube suggest, officials were aware of the advantage of the style of mullahs' work, but it was not easy for Orthodox missionaries to imitate them. Missionaries at the Kazan Missionary Congress in 1910 admitted that Tatar mullahs ate food, spoke the language, and wore the

45 Peyrouse, "Les missions orthodoxes," p. 134.

46 Frank T. McCarthy, "The Kazan' Missionary Congress," *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* 14, no. 3 (1973), pp. 321–322, 327–329.

47 "Zhitie prepodobnomuchenikov Serafima i Feognosta" [http://www.orthodox.kz/article.php?razd=27&publid=45].

48 "Zhitie prepodobnomuchenikov."

49 RGIA, f. 1276, op. 11, d. 89, l. 287ob.

clothes of the Kazakhs, while Orthodox priests did none of these things. None of the priests of the "Kirgiz" mission at that time knew the Kazakh language.[50]

One of the characteristic points of officials' and priests' discussions was that they always differentiated nomads (the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz) from sedentary people, and the Steppe oblasts (including Semirech'e) from Turkestan. The expectation, however, that the Kazakhs were ignorant in Islam and could be baptized relatively easily, proved erroneous. Arrival of missionaries sometimes disturbed Kazakhs as was the case with Avramii, and there were also many cases when parents refused to send their children to Russian schools, fearing that they would be baptized. Advocators of the Christianization policy were right when they thought that Central Asian nomads were not so familiar with Islamic doctrines as their sedentary neighbors, but they failed to differentiate between doctrines and identity. Judging from their attitudes to Christian missionaries and the Muslim Mufti, many Kazakhs and Kyrgyz had a clear Muslim identity. As the famous intellectual Mírjaqïp Dulatov wrote, Kazakhs widely held the view that Tsaritsa Anna had promised not to infringe on the Kazakhs' religion and land when khan Äbílkhayïr (Abulkhair) pledged allegiance to Russia in 1731.[51]

Moreover, the fact that many of the few baptized Kazakhs were either poor people in the town or those who had damaged relations with their kinsmen suggests that, as long as Kazakhs held normal positions in their own communities, it was difficult for them to abandon Islam. Kolpakovskii's idea of setting up villages of poor Kazakhs to make them the nuclei of expanding Christian communities was unrealistic, and baptized Kazakhs always remained marginal.

In the political context, those officials who advocated the Christianization policy in the Steppe were motivated by, except their personal devoutness, the intention to prevent further increase of the influence of Islam and Tatar Muslim culture on the Kazakhs and to draw them to the side of the Russians. A number of officials, however, feared that missionary activities could provoke unrest of the Kazakhs, and supporters of the Christianization policy decreased over the time. In other words,

50 McCarthy, "The Kazan' Missionary Congress," pp. 321, 327.

51 Mir-Ya'qub Dulatof, *Oyan, qazaq!* (Ufa, 1910), p. 9.

assimilation of Central Asians to the Russian Empire was certainly a desirable goal for the part of officialdom, but its priority was so low that it was easily abandoned when attempts at doing so were faced with difficulties or dangers.

Discussions on Military Conscription and Formation of Militias in Central Asia

Central Asians Serving in the Russian Army

From early times a considerable number of non-Russians in eastern Russia performed military service, mostly in irregular armies such as the Cossack ones. It is well known that Bashkirs participated in the battles against Napoleon and went to France. A few Kazakhs also participated in these battles, and it was quite common for descendants of Kazakh khans to become Russian officials and generals at least until the 1870s.[52] Central Asians also accompanied Russian armed forces conquering Turkestan as *jigit*s (horsemen who served as reconnoiterers and messengers) and sometimes even participated in such difficult battles as the suppression of the Kokand rebellion in 1876 and the Akhal-Teke (Turkmen) expedition in 1880–1881, and were highly praised by Russian officials.[53]

Generally, however, the military service of non-Russians in irregular forms was gradually cut down with the modernization of the Russian Army. The Bashkir irregular army and the Buryat Cossack regiments were abolished in 1865 and 1871, respectively. The Bashkirs became subjected to military conscription[54] together with the Tatars, while the

52 *Istoricheskii opyt zashchity Otechestva: Voennaia istoriia Kazakhstana* (Almaty, 1999), pp. 83–97. Examples of Kazakh officers and generals include: captain Shoqan Wälikhanov, the famous scholar; Cavalry General Ghŭbaydulla Jänggírov, a son of the last khan of the Bökey Horde; Major General Seyítjapar Asfendiarov, an interpreter of the governor-general of Turkestan who was engaged in diplomatic relations.

53 RGVIA, f. 1396, op. 2, d. 756, ll. 30–31ob.; TsGA RUz, f. 1, op. 1, d. 1931, ll. 2–4. One of the Turkmen leaders of resistance to the Russian army, Magtïmgulï Khan, himself later became a Russian colonel. TsGA RUz, f. 1, op. 2, d. 1215, ll. 1–2ob.

54 Conscription was called "recruit obligation (*rekrutskaia povinnost'*)" and was assigned

Buryats and Kalmyks, except those who continued to serve in the Cossack armies, were exempted from military service as *inorodtsy* ("aliens"). Whereas old irregular armies were a convenient way to use the services of those ethnic groups who were not capable of paying taxes in the same way as the most Russians, the imposition of or exemption from universal military service indicated the actual or expected level of integration of those groups into the empire. When Russia conquered Turkestan and reformed administration in the Kazakh steppe, the question emerged as to whether Central Asians—in the first place, Kazakhs—should be recruited to the army or not.

From the 1860s to the 1880s: the Steppe Commission and the Sino-Russian Relations

In 1865, the Steppe Commission was assigned "to consider whether we should support martial spirit of this population [the Kazakhs], or, on the contrary, make efforts to accustom them to peaceful life and disaccustom them from arms; to make the regulations for the formation of a Kirgiz [Kazakh] militia for interior police work and exterior military service."[55] After more than two years of investigation, however, the commission concluded: "The conditions of military service radically contradict the mode of life of nomads who are accustomed to unlimited freedom. The Kirgiz, therefore, fear recruitment and . . . mere rumors about a census, which they regard as a herald of recruitment, have led them to disorders." It also pointed out that they would greet the formation of a militia with suspicion, regarding it as a transitional measure to the introduction of military conscription.[56]

The first governor-general of Turkestan, Kaufman, considered that the natives of Turkestan generally lacked enough trustworthiness (*blagonadezhnost'*) to fulfill the task of defending Russian interests. At the same time, however, he thought that the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz were more fit-

through communities until 1874; after that it was called "military obligation (*voinskaia povinnost'*)" common to every subject of the empire, although there were numerous categories of people who were exempted from it.

55 RGVIA, f. 1450, op. 2, d. 12, l. 8ob.

56 RGVIA, f. 400, op. 1, d. 120, ll. 62ob.–63.

ted to military service than the Tajiks and "Sarts," and that they could form splendid regiments of light cavalry. After the revolt of the Kazakhs of the Junior Juz (1868–1870), however, he found the idea inappropriate for the moment.[57]

In 1874, when the law on universal conscription was introduced, the War Ministry proposed commanders of military districts where the *inorodtsy* lived to examine the possibility of their military service. All the district commanders (posts held by the governor-generals concurrently) in Central Asia made negative replies in 1879–1880. Kaufman was now totally negative. According to him, experiences of campaigns showed a low level of combat ability and trustworthiness of Muslim militias and irregular cavalries. He argued that militiamen were prone to plunder and were fitted to an annihilatory war that could occur on Russia's western border, but in Central Asia, the Russian army battled against future subjects of the empire or its protectorates, and its tactics should be and was actually "humane."[58] He warned that military service would give the population instructors for possible insurrections, expressing his belief that "our main concern now should be directed to make the native population of the district peaceful farmers, manufacturers and merchants, . . . but not warriors in any case." He added that one should not forget that by acquiring Turkestan, "we broke into the heart of the Muslim world that still regards us as strangers and conquerors who disturb its millennium-old, though barbarous, order by our civilization."[59]

In 1883, when Sino-Russian relations were still strained soon after the St. Petersburg treaty was signed, the military governor of the Semirech'e oblast, Aleksei Fride (Friede), proposed forming an irregular cavalry from all the nationalities (Russians, Dungans, "Taranchis," Kazakhs and Kyrgyz) of the oblast. Although considering it necessary to limit the

57 Cited from the minutes of the commission of the Ferghana oblast army headquarters in 1895 (see below). RGVIA, f. 1396, op. 2, d. 756, l. 7ob.

58 Not all Russian generals shared this "humanistic" view. General Mikhail Skobelev, who conducted atrocities in the Ferghana valley and the Akhal-Teke oasis, told, "in Asia the duration of peace is in direct proportion to the slaughter you inflict upon the enemy. The harder you hit them, the longer they will be quiet afterwards." Charles Marvin, *The Russian Advance towards India: Conversations with Skobeleff, Ignatieff, and Other Distinguished Russian Generals and Statesmen, on the Central Asian Question* (London, 1882), pp. 98–99.

59 TsGA RK, f. 369, op. 1, d. 5838, ll. 1–31; f. 25, op. 1, d. 2280, ll. 1–29ob.

number of Kazakhs and Kyrgyz because of their high proportion to the general population, he thought that they were "devoid of fanaticism" unlike the sedentary population of Turkestan (as proof, he referred to the "quite frequent" cases of their conversion to Christianity) and had "never been a warlike people." He therefore proposed that the measure was safe. In his opinion, this would "influence their Russification (*obrusenie*) in the most powerful way."[60]

The governor-general of the Steppe, Kolpakovskii, agreed to the proposal in principle, arguing that while Russia had not earlier conscripted the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz for fear of inducing disorder that could be supported by the Central Asian khanates, now these khanates had been subjugated and the fear lost its foundation. He seemed to have considered, however, that this question concerned all of the oblasts under his jurisdiction, and asked officials of the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts for their opinions.[61] The opinions were divided, but were generally negative. Chiefs of three uezds in the Akmolinsk oblast wrote in 1884:

> . . . The Kirgiz [Kazakhs] live in closed tribal circles that are almost beyond the reach of outside influence and have little sympathy with general interests of the state. This absence of solidarity of interests of the Steppe region with those of the whole empire is supported by the nomadic mode of life of the Kirgiz, the economic situation of the region, and the low level of *grazhdanstvennost'*[62] of the present-day Kirgiz. . . . Continual colonization of the Steppe by Russians and increasing taxes in the form of *kibitka* (household) tax and local tax cannot but provoke . . . doubt of the Kirgiz about these measures [i.e., conscription].
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> . . . [Even] those Kirgiz who received some Russian education and entered the army as officers proved to be far from being qualified for their assign-

60 TsGA RK, f. 369, op. 1, d. 5845, ll. 2–21ob.

61 "Vsepoddanneishii otchet Stepnogo General-Gubernatora za 1883 god," p. 52 (TsGA RK, f. 64, op. 1, d. 125, l. 26ob.); TsGA RK, f. 369, op. 1, d. 5845, l. 1.

62 While the word *grazhdanstvennost'* (literally, civicness) was used in manifold meanings, it was mostly used, at least in discourses of Russian officials on Central Asia, in the sense of the cultural or civilizational level of an ethnic group. There was also the phrase "*russkaia grazhdanstvennost'*," which was used in the sense of cultural or political influence of Russia on a non-Russian people. See L. Kostenko, *Sredniaia Aziia i vodvorenie v nei russkoi grazhdanstvennosti* (St. Petersburg, 1870), pp. 42, 104.

> ments. . . . Nomadic life and the very low mental level of comprehension cannot be favorable for making them disciplined warriors. . . . The low level of their intellectual development does not allow them to have the idea of duty, obligation and honesty.
> . . . Conscription of the Kirgiz . . . will be expedient only when this nationality makes the transition from nomadic to settled life and accordingly consolidate their economic condition to some extent, and when Russian culture and Russian *grazhdanstvennost'* permeate them together with settled life and fusion (*sliianie*) of the Kirgiz people with the Russians has been accomplished. . . .

They also pointed out that the Kazakhs had not forgotten the days when they lived with more freedom and neighboring countries gave them gifts to find their favor, and that although the Steppe became surrounded by Russian territories by the conquest of Turkestan, this ring around the Steppe was far from being strong.[63] In these words, we can see both their contempt for Kazakh nomads and their consciousness of the weakness of Russian rule, which had not brought welfare to the Kazakhs.

Kolpakovskii, after all, admitted in 1885 that the time was not ripe for conscription of the *inorodtsy* of the three oblasts.[64] By this time, the need of forming special cavalry in Semirech'e objectively lessened as Sino-Russian relations had eased.

From the 1890s to the 1900s: the Possibility of a War with the British and Afghans

In Turkestan, tensions between Russia and Afghanistan inspired a plan to form a cavalry. In 1895, the Minister of War Petr Vannovskii showed an interest in the idea of forming militia units of Turkestan natives for reconnaissance work as a partial substitute for Cossacks, and the headquarters of the Turkestan military district asked the army commanders (positions served concurrently by the governors) of the oblasts for their opinions.[65] The acting army commander of the Samarkand oblast, Ionov,

63 TsGA RK, f. 369, op. 1, d. 5845, ll. 23–42.
64 TsGA RK, f. 369, op. 1, d. 2089, ll. 26–32ob.
65 RGVIA, f. 1396, op. 2, d. 756, ll. 1–2ob.

supported this idea, believing that Russian intelligence officers could not properly carry out their work because Muslims, even Russian subjects, would conceal information from them, and intermediation of local horsemen loyal to Russia was indispensable. He argued that while twenty years of peace after the Russian conquest had weakened the combat abilities of the "Sarts," nomads who fought daily against the harsh nature could work as excellent *jigit*s, as before.[66]

Meanwhile, a commission established by the Ferghana oblast army headquarters supposed that Muslim militias would be harmful in case of war with their coreligionists, with the exception of Turkmen militiamen (see below) who regarded warfare as their profession and fought with any one or groups. It pointed out that the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz repeatedly rebelled against Russia under the leadership of Kenesarï (who led a Kazakh revolt in 1837–1847), Sadïq (Kenesarï's son), 'Abd al-Rahman Aftabachi ("avtobachi" in Russian sources; the Kipchak leader of a revolt in the Kokand khanate in 1876) and others. The commission emphasized that they maintained relations with their kinsmen in China, and that all the nomadic population of the steppe stretching to the Chinese Wall constituted "a single Mongolian tribe and was once the core of large armies of Chingis Khan and Tamerlane." The commission asked rhetorically: "Should we awake the sleeping militant tribe to new fighting activities? Should we renew the deplorable epoch of the Mongol invasion?" However, the oblast army commander, Aleksandr Povalo-Shveikovskii, wrote that the fear of awakening nomads' militancy was greatly exaggerated.[67]

Aleksandr Vrevskii, the governor-general of Turkestan, concluded in 1896 that native militia units were not necessary.[68] It seems, however, a strong opinion in support for strengthening cavalry remained inside the headquarters of the Turkestan military district. After Dukhovskoi succeeded Vrevskii in 1898, some officers of the headquarters, as if they had waited for the opportunity, wrote a detailed report in favor of introducing conscription among the natives or forming native cavalry.[69] Their

66 Ibid., ll. 30–32.

67 Ibid., ll. 6–19.

68 Ibid., ll. 23–23ob.

69 I have found four versions of the report. Some of them are not dated, but judging

main points were as follows:

• At present, the Russian cavalry in Turkestan is much smaller than the Afghan and Indian cavalries. Strengthening of the cavalry, "a thunderous weapon of gods," would give Russians the possibility of a seizing initiative, and its invasion of Afghanistan would disturb all of India. Oghuz Khan, Mahmud of Ghazni, Chingis Khan and Tamerlane all went through this area with local cavalry, and the mountainous terrain here would not impede the cavalry's movement.
• Central Asian nomads remain daring horse-riders ("Militant instincts, engrafted for millenniums, cannot fade out so rapidly"). At the same time, there is no reason to fear riots of the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz because their former solidarity over a vast space has been lost thanks to delimitation of state borders, and Russia had consolidated order in the Steppe. Although there are some plunderers among them, a useful way to combat plunders is to draw troublesome elements into military service and detract them from criminal activities. Above all, the army is the best school that educates people in the idea of public order of the state.

Precisely at this time, in May 1898, a major revolt took place in Andijan. In the second and later versions of the report, however, officers continued to emphasize the importance of military education, claiming that "the Andijan incident . . . showed that we had taken too little care of educating our Asian *inorodtsy* in the idea of the unity and order of the state."

The first version of the report advocated the introduction of a universal conscription for the reason that militias were more costly and less disciplined. The second version stated that at least a part of the population should be conscripted to the regular army, but formation of militias was also acceptable. The third and fourth versions wrote about the formation of the militias only. Someone (possibly the chief of the district headquarters, which should not be confused with the governor-general)

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from their contents and also the documents filed before and after them, they were most probably written in the following order: 1) RGVIA, f. 1396, op. 2, d. 756, ll. 44–51ob.; 2) Ibid., d. 756, ll. 60–62ob. (August 1898); 3) Ibid., d. 768, ll. 1–8 (1898); 4) Ibid., d. 756, ll. 95–101ob. (January 1899).

repeatedly wrote comments in the margin of the report and expressed strong doubt on the trustworthiness of the *inorodtsy*. This is probably the reason the authors of the report had to abandon the idea of forming a cavalry on the basis of universal conscription.

Formation of a "Kirgiz" cavalry was also discussed in the newspapers. Some articles are bound in a file together with the above-mentioned report, and officials of the headquarters undoubtedly read them. One of the articles' authors was Maslov, a former chief of the headquarters of the Omsk military district, who praised the splendid quality of "Kirgiz" horses and horsemen, and supported the formation of a mixed "Kirgiz"-Russian cavalry on the basis of universal conscription. He wrote: "Military conscription is a heavy burden for a highly industrialized population, but it is entirely useful for nomads who do nothing throughout the year, and gives them occupation and development. It is especially important that it inculcates them with a sense of belonging to the Russian state," and "for warlike nomadic peoples, war is a desirable and familiar environment, and the blood shed on the battle field will entirely serve to make them loyal servants of the Tsar and the Fatherland more rapidly."[70] Sultan Vali-Khan (apparently, a descendant of the Kazakh khan, Wäli) also basically supported the formation of a Kazakh cavalry, however saying that compulsion should be avoided.[71]

It is unknown whether the governor-general read any of these discussions. Another reason, however, slightly moved the matter forward. Already in 1894, the military governor of the Ferghana oblast, Povalo-Shveikovskii, proposed the formation of a mounted police, and repeated the proposal three times in 1897. He was worried by the situation in Ferghana where robbers, including armed ones, frequently appeared, and which could develop into such a disturbing situation as existed in some parts of the Caucasus. He wrote that the native administration of volosts and villages, which was assigned to perform police functions, was not only powerless to stand against robbers but even formed an "impermeable curtain" and hindered the Russian authorities from knowing Muslim life; thus he expected the mounted police to break the "curtain." The then governor-general, Vrevskii, rejected the proposal for

70 *Russkii invalid*, June 7, 1898 (RGVIA, f. 1396, op. 2, d. 756, l. 73).

71 *Novoe vremia*, July 29, 1898 (RGVIA, f. 1396, op. 2, d. 756, l. 76).

formalistic reasons. The next governor-general, Dukhovskoi, having received a report on the matter, wrote, "I heard it for the first time!" and called the rejection by the former governor-general "Strange?!" He gave his secretariat directions: "These measures are indispensable and urgent. It is necessary to set up a troop like the Teke battalion [i.e., the Turkmen battalion; see below] in every oblast."[72]

The matter was, however, handed over to the headquarters of the military district, which drew up a totally different plan to form a militia or guard composed of ethnic Russians, and to distribute arms to the whole ethnic Russian population in case of disturbances of the natives. This was an idea to expand the arming of Russian settlers started by the proposal in 1892 of Nikolai Grodekov, the then military governor of the Syr Darya oblast. In July 1899, however, the district headquarters decided to stop all these matters for the time being.[73]

The situation abruptly took a new turn in 1903, when the Finance Minister raised the question of introducing a war tax (a substitute for military service) in Turkestan. Governor-general Nikolai Ivanov proposed using a part of the tax revenue for the formation of "native militia troops (*tuzemnye militsionnye sotni*)." Volunteers from the native population were supposed to become ordinary militiamen (*jigit*s) and would be encouraged to study Russian, while sergeants and officers would be Russians and obliged to know one of the local languages. The main motive of the formation of these troops was the need to strengthen the police force. The district headquarters repeated the words of Povalo-Shveikovskii about the fear of Caucasusization of Ferghana and the "impermeable curtain" formed by native administration. Meanwhile, military functions of the militia also were not set aside, and it was expected to carry out reconnaissance and rapid attacks in wartime.[74]

Tsar Nicholas II read Ivanov's report and supported his idea. The Main Headquarters of the Ministry of War, however, took a negative

72 RGVIA, f. 1396, op. 2, d. 756, ll. 84–87ob.

73 RGVIA, f. 1396, op. 2, d. 756, ll. 157–166ob., 171–172, 188, 199, 207. On the arming of Russian settlers, see P. G. Galuzo, *Vooruzhenie russkikh pereselentsev v Srednei Azii* (Tashkent, 1926); G. S. Sapargaliev, *Karatel'naia politika tsarizma v Kazakhstane (1905–1917 gg.)* (Alma-Ata, 1966), pp. 70–75.

74 RGVIA, f. 400, op. 1, d. 3165, ll. 1–20.

attitude to it, citing the threat of Muslim "fanaticism," Pan-Islamism, and the lack of trustworthiness of the Turkestan natives, allegedly proved by the Tashkent cholera riot (1892) and the Andijan uprising (1898). It also referred to the unsuccessful experience of the militia in the Terek oblast (North Caucasus), where militiamen could not reduce crimes and even participated in a revolt in 1877–1878 and the army was compelled to send divisions to suppress them in the middle of the Russo-Turkish war.[75]

Minister of War Aleksei Kuropatkin practically neglected the Main Headquarters' report, and wrote instructions to set up a militia troop composed of "Kirgiz" in every oblast in Turkestan. Soon, however, the Russo-Japanese war started and Kuropatkin was appointed as the commander-in-chief of the Manchurian army. His successor, Viktor Sakharov, asked Finance Minister Vladimir Kokovtsov for his opinion, saying that the War Ministry was supportive of creating militias. Kokovtsov, however, opposed this idea for the reason that using a war tax for a specific region contradicted budget regulations, and also because the introduction of a war tax in Turkestan had been postponed. The Main Headquarters forwarded this answer to the new governor-general of Turkestan, Nikolai Teviashev, who responded that he was in favor of leaving this matter for the time being. In January 1905, Sakharov submitted to the Tsar a note that the creation of militias would be postponed until more favorable conditions would emerge.[76] As was often the case, support of the Tsar alone could not change the intentions of the bureaucrats and formal regulations, notwithstanding that Russia was an autocratic state.

The conditions after the Russo-Japanese war proved no more favorable for the formation of the militias. In 1907, the Anglo-Russian entente was formed, and the need to create a cavalry for a possible war with Afghanistan and Great Britain disappeared. Later, governor-general Aleksandr Samsonov proposed again to set up a horse militia from Kazakhs and Kyrgyz in his report to the Tsar for the year of 1909,[77] but it seems that the proposal did not become the subject of serious discussion.

75 Ibid., ll. 21ob.–27.

76 Ibid., ll. 21, 32–38ob.

77 Kh. T. Tursunov, *Vosstanie 1916 goda v Srednei Azii i Kazakhstane* (Tashkent, 1962), p. 183.

The Turkmen Cavalry Regiment

Here, it bears mentioning that there existed only one militia, or irregular army force, of Central Asian natives. It was the Turkmen horse militia established in February 1885, which was reorganized into the Turkmen cavalry irregular battalion in 1892, and renamed to the Turkmen cavalry battalion in 1911, the Turkmen cavalry regiment in 1914, the Teke cavalry regiment in 1916, and existed until 1918.[78] Its rank-and-file members were Turkmen (mostly from Teke tribe), while most of the officers were ethnic Russians. In peacetime, it was engaged in local police work and border guarding, and was dispatched to neighboring countries for reconnaissance as well.[79]

It is strange, at first glance, that most Central Asian peoples were kept away not only from the regular army but also from militias, while Turkmen, who had resisted Russian conquerors most fiercely, were invited to form a militia four years after the battle of Gökdepe and when the annexation of southern Turkmenistan had not yet been finished. Following the logic of Russian officials, the Turkmen could be considered as having low "trustworthiness" and *grazhdanstvennost'*, because they were famous for their engagement in plunder (*alaman*) in Iran and other neighboring countries, and Russian culture hardly penetrated them.

As a matter of fact, Russian generals and officers were simply fascinated by the splendid quality of the Turkmen as warriors that they had demonstrated at Gökdepe and other places. As the above-mentioned words of the commission of the Ferghana military headquarters show, the Turkmen gained a reputation as warriors who fought in any severe conditions and with any enemies. There was also an idea that it was useful for maintaining order to incorporate people who liked war and plunder into the army.[80] Another probable reason for the formation of the Turkmen cavalry was the geopolitical significance of the Transcaspia oblast (Turkmenistan): the majority of the Russian border (excluding its protectorate, the Bukharan emirate) with Afghanistan and Iran belonged

78 RGVIA, f. 3639, op. 1, predislovie.
79 RGVIA, f. 400, op. 1, d. 1408, ll. 3–12ob., 46–47.
80 RGVIA, f. 1396, op. 2, d. 756, ll. 9–9ob.

to this oblast. To be sure, the Turkmen cavalry was formed on a voluntary basis, and the Turkmen were exempted from universal conscription in the same way as other *inorodtsy* in Asiatic Russia.

In February 1915, at the height of World War I where the Turkmen cavalry regiment courageously fought with the Austrian and German armies, the main administration of the General Headquarters proposed to include "Kirgiz" volunteers in a reserve squadron of the Turkmen regiment. Then the head of the Asian department of the Main Headquarters of the Ministry of War fiercely opposed the proposal. He asserted that, while the "Kirgiz" were pure nomads, the mode of life of the Turkmen, especially the "Akhal" (i.e., Teke) Turkmen was close to sedentary, and it was difficult for the two to work together. Moreover, he claimed, "the Turkmen are a first-class material for cavalry, whereas the Kirgiz . . . are rather second-class," and although the "Kirgiz" were tireless horsemen, one could not call them brave warriors, and their incorporation would lower the quality of the Turkmen squadron.[81] Thus, although the semi-nomadic Turkmen had an intermediate character in the mode of life between the nomadic Kazakhs-Kyrgyz and the sedentary Uzbeks-Tajiks, and were less familiar with Russian culture, they were placed higher than anyone in Central Asia in military affairs.

The Teke cavalry regiment, in August 1917, joined the Kornilov revolt against the Provisional Government together with the so-called "Savage Division" (formally the Caucasian Native Cavalry Division, formed by volunteers from the North Caucasus and Azerbaijan), and some of its members fought against the Bolsheviks afterwards.[82]

The 1910s: Russians' Feeling of "Unfairness" and the Revolt of 1916

Let us return to the discussions around 1910. At that time, voices of support for conscription of the *inorodtsy* appeared in the Ministry of War and the State Duma. They derived from the rightists' view that the central part of the empire had been becoming impoverished (*oskudenie*), and ethnic Russians were at a disadvantage in the whole empire. They were

81 RGVIA, f. 400, op. 1, d. 4413, ll. 11–13.

82 O. Gundogdyev and Dzh. Annaorazov, *Slava i tragediia: Sud'ba Tekinskogo konnogo polka (1914–1918)* (Ashgabat, 1992).

of the opinion that Russians bore an unjustly heavy burden in defending the empire, and drafting non-Russians would kill two birds with one stone by lessening the burden on Russians while Russifying non-Russians.[83] A part of those nationalities that had been exempted from conscription expressed their readiness to undertake military service. Khalilbek Khasmamedov, an Azerbaijani deputy, made a speech at the Duma in November 1911, saying that exempting Transcaucasian Muslims from military service (unlike Christians in the same region) and levying instead a special tax made them feel that "they were not sons of the common motherland, but its stepsons."[84] In any case, exemption of a significant part of the population from "universal" conscription was surely an anomaly.

In Central Asia, the military governor of Semirech'e, Mikhail Fol'baum, mentioned the need for conscripting the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz in his annual report to the Tsar for the year 1910, and Nicholas II wrote: "We need to arrive at this [conclusion]." The governor-general of Turkestan, Samsonov, however, said that they were not trustworthy enough to fight as Russian soldiers and it was premature to conscript them, because they had become discontented by the Russian government's land confiscation to benefit Russian peasants.[85]

From then on, conscription was discussed not only inside the governmental bodies but also among the Kazakhs. At that time that a small number of Kazakhs were changing to settled life, some feared that they would be conscripted. In the newspaper *Qazaq* of May 1913, the prominent Kazakh intellectual Älikhan Bökeykhan (Bukeikhanov) enumerated laws that stipulated exemption of the Kazakhs from conscription, and explained that no amendment had been proposed either to the Duma or the State Council, and that those who changed to settled life would not be drafted if they were not incorporated into the peasant estate by their own will.[86]

83 Sanborn, *Drafting the Russian Nation*, pp. 71–74.

84 *Gosudarstvennaia Duma, Tretii sozyv: Stenograficheskie otchety, 1911 g., Sessiia piataia*, chast' 1 (St. Petersburg, 1911), pp. 2933–2936.

85 Tursunov, *Vosstanie 1916*, pp. 181–184.

86 Qïr balasï [Ä. Bökeykhan], "Qazaqtan saldat ala ma?" *Qazaq* 13 (May 8, 1913), p. 1. Article 12 of the Statute for the administration of Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk, Semirech'e,

When the war began, the Ministry of War was seriously examining the possibility of extending the draft. The ministry, in a secret report submitted to the Council of Ministers in July 1914, claimed that it was unfair to lay the burden of military service on the population of the center of the state on behalf of the peripheries, which were allegedly "developing and getting rich" at the expense of the center. In the case of the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz, however, the ministry called for keeping exemption for the following reasons: first, although their exemption increased the burden on the Russians, it was compensated by the expropriation of their land for the interest of the Russians; second, they would fall ill by serving in an environment where they could not obtain familiar food and kymyz (fermented mare's milk), which sustained their health; third, they were untrustworthy and dangerous. It also pointed out that they considered themselves exempted from military service forever by special charters of Tsars for having been subjugated without bloodshed and revolts. The ministry considered it appropriate to keep exemption of the sedentary population of Turkestan for similar reasons and also for fear of their betrayal in a war with the Ottoman Empire, while regarding the highlanders of the North Caucasus suited for military conscription thanks to their quality as warriors.[87]

Muslim deputies to the Duma and editors of Tatar newspapers such as *Waqt* (Orenburg) and *Turmush* (Ufa) supported the conscription of nationalities who had been exempted from it, especially the Kazakhs, because they were the most numerous among them and their exemption could evoke discontent of mobilized peoples. They told that performing military service as a civic duty would be useful for the Kazakhs to gain the right to have *zemstvo*s (local self-government bodies), to regain the right to elect deputies to the Duma, and to attain religious and land rights. They also claimed that military service would allow the Kazakhs to see the world and raise their cultural level. In response, editors of the

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Ural'sk and Torghay oblasts stipulated that the *inorodtsy* who converted to Orthodoxy could be registered in cities or villages of ethnic Russians, but were exempted from military service for life. *Svod zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*, 2nd ed., kniga 1–ia (St. Petersburg, 1913), p. 1165.

87 M. Zakharov, "Tsarskoe pravitel'stvo i voennaia sluzhba gortsev i zhitelei Srednei Azii," *Voennyi vestnik: voenno-politicheskii ezhenedel'nik* 20 (May 30, 1925), pp. 8–10.

newspaper *Qazaq* wrote that, although their opinions were based on goodwill, they did not know the situation of the Kazakhs: they had no certificates of birth, and aul chiefs wrote villagers' ages arbitrarily in family lists, therefore it was impossible to determine who was at the draft age. Editors of *Qazaq* added, however, that a volunteer system could avoid this problem.[88]

From July to August 1915, Duma deputies again discussed extending the draft at a closed meeting. Deputy Tregubov, an Octobrist and priest, said that the Russian people were bearing their cross in the great war, and it was necessary to place the same demands on other subjects of the empire, even if they did not understand what was at stake in the war. Deputy Andrei Shingarev, a Cadet, also urged conscription of the *inorodtsy*, although using idioms of nation building: "There are many elements in our nation [*natsiia*], which is rich with separate peoples and ethnicities [*narody i narodnosti*], and many elements do not sufficiently know Russian, but upon entering the army, they gradually learn it . . . "[89]

Partly under the pressure of the deputies, the Ministry of War submitted to the Council of Ministers a bill on extending the conscription in November 1915. It minutely examined cases of each regional and ethnic group that had been exempted from conscription. Of ethnic Russians in the peripheries, those in northernmost Siberia were to remain exempted from conscription, while those in the three "core" oblasts of Turkestan (Syr Darya, Samarkand, Ferghana)[90] and Sakhalin were to be drafted. Concerning Central Asian peoples, the bill contained paradoxical statements: while citing the same negative conditions as in the secret report

88 "Qazaqtan saldat alu," *Qazaq* 153 (October 15, 1915), p. 3; "Qazaqtan saldat alu turalï," *Qazaq* 154 (October 22, 1915), pp. 1–2; "Qazaqtan saldat alu mäselesínde noghay gazetalarïnïng fíkírí," ibid., pp. 3–4.

89 Sanborn, *Drafting the Russian Nation*, p. 77.

90 The reason why ethnic Russians in these three oblasts and the Bukharan emirate was exempted from conscription is not completely clear, but it perhaps derived from the idea that it was essential to maintain scarce Russian elements here. The bill of 1915, on the contrary, advocated the need to give them experience in military service so that they could defend themselves against the natives. There were confusions, however, in determining who was exempted, as Russians frequently migrated between the three oblasts and other regions of the empire. Russians in Semirech'e and Transcaspia oblasts were subject to conscription. TsGA RUz, f. 1, op. 2, d. 1099.

of the previous year, it concluded that their conscription was necessary because it would be one of the most effective ways of rapprochement (*sblizhenie*) of the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz (as well as Turkmen) with the Russians. Their possible disturbances could be rapidly suppressed, whereas the "Sarts" and other peoples were "not at all warlike" (and therefore, would not resist). On the whole, the bill envisaged drafting almost all the ethnic groups within the empire, except the Fins, Turkish and some ethnicities in Siberia. The Council of Ministers, however, decided not to be hasty after the Vice-Minister of Interior, Stepan Beletskii, said that conscription would cause disturbances because the *inorodtsy*, especially the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz, did not regard Russia as their motherland.[91]

Without being informed of these discussions inside the government, some Kazakhs received information that a bill on conscription would be brought to the Duma in the next session that was to start in February 1916. Various opinions were sent to the newspaper *Qazaq*, including proposals that conscription be conditioned on the establishment of Kazakh units commanded by themselves, a return of the right to elect deputies to the Duma, and the introduction of *zemstvo*s and universal education.[92] According to Dulatov, common points of many of the opinions included: 1) not to conscript the Kazakhs during this war; 2) to put [the Kazakhs] under the jurisdiction of the Muftiate before conscripting them in order to make correct birth certificates; 3) if conscription is inevitable, then not as infantrymen but as cavalrymen, and to give them the same land and water rights as the Cossacks. In short, Kazakhs were far from enthusiastic about conscription, but sought to use it, in case it was unavoidable, as an opportunity to improve their rights. In order to communicate these opinions to the government and the Duma, Bökeykhan, Akhmet Baytŭrsïnov (Baitursynov) and Nïsanghali Begímbetov went to Petrograd.[93]

Bökeykhan, who met with the Minister of War Aleksei Polivanov and Duma deputies, reported to *Qazaq* that there was no bill on conscription,

91 RGIA, f. 1276, op. 11, d. 89, ll. 1–27.

92 "Saldattïq mäselesí," *Qazaq* 166 (January 24, 1916), p. 1.

93 M.D. [M. Dulatov], "G. Duma häm saldattïq mäselesí," *Qazaq* 168 (February 9, 1916), p. 1; *Vosstanie 1916 goda v Kazakhstane (Dokumenty i materialy)* (Alma-Ata, 1947), p. 22.

Muslim deputies did not strongly support conscription and conscription during this war was not expected. However, it was probable that a bill would be submitted for future conscription of the *inorodtsy*, because Octobrist and Russian nationalist deputies advocated it. He explained that there were three categories of soldiers—infantrymen, cavalrymen and Cossacks—and the life of Cossacks was similar and familiar to the Kazakhs. Therefore, he argued, the Kazakhs had to appeal to the Duma for their conscription as Cossacks.[94] A contributor to *Qazaq* objected, however, that it was better to serve as infantrymen, because service as Cossacks would require that they prepare uniforms, horses and harness by themselves, which was more burdensome for them.[95]

Irrespective of the opinions of Central Asians, the government suddenly changed its course. A special council of the Headquarters of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief declared on April 24, 1916 that the labor shortage amounted to one million people, and the headquarters negotiated with the Minister of War, Dmitrii Shuvaev, who promised to provide 40,000 laborers. Then, on May 3, 6, and June 14, the Council of Ministers discussed the matter and decided to employ the *inorodtsy* not as soldiers but as laborers, deeming such mobilization safer because it would not give them arms.[96] On June 25, 1916, an imperial ukase ordered a draft of the male *inorodtsy* for the construction of defense works and communication lines in the rear of the fighting forces.

It was true that the labor shortage behind the front lines had become much more acute than the shortage of soldiers, as the total of mobilized soldiers reached 10,168,000 on September 1, 1915 and 14,293,000 on November 1, 1916.[97] This seemingly rational decision, however, was made in a great haste without consultation not only with the *inorodtsy* but also even with governor-generals and other local administrators in violation of the normal procedures, and had a disastrous effect. The sudden order to mobilize a large work force to distant places during the farmers' busy

94 "Petrograd khatï, I. Saldat alar ma?" *Qazaq* 171 (February 29, 1916), p. 1; "Petrograd khatï, II. Ne ísteuge?" *Qazaq* 172 (March 9, 1916), pp. 1–2.

95 Q., "Äsker alsa," *Qazaq* 177 (April 17, 1916), pp. 2–3.

96 Tursunov, *Vosstanie 1916 goda*, pp. 185–189; *Padenie tsarskogo rezhima: stenograficheskie otchety doprosov i pokazanii, dannykh v 1917 g. v Chrezvychainoi Sledstvennoi Komissii Vremennogo Pravitel'stva*, vol. 7 (Leningrad, 1927), pp. 290–295.

97 *Rossiia v mirovoi voine 1914–1918 goda (v tsifrakh)* (Moscow, 1925), p. 17.

season shocked the population.

Moreover, before the text of the ukase reached distant villages, rumors were already circulating. Many people firmly believed that they were being taken as soldiers. Explanation by officials and intellectuals about the real tasks of laborers failed to change their conviction. Some Russian peasants told Kazakhs that laborers would dig trenches while gunfire between the German and Russian forces was exchanged.[98] As editors of *Qazaq* had earlier pointed out in relation to possible conscription, the lack of birth certificate caused serious troubles, and people attacked native administrators who arbitrarily decided who were subject to labor mobilization. A revolt erupted in Khujand on 4 July, and spread to almost all Central Asia. The Ministries of Interior and War showed such a level of irresponsibility that they put the blame on each other in anticipation of censure by the Duma for the grave situation.[99]

In Turkestan, the newly appointed governor-general and a former Minister of War Kuropatkin dealt with the revolt. He had earlier worked in Central Asia for a long time (intermittently from 1866 to 1897), and his attitude to Central Asians contained some elements of paternalism, but at the same time, he was one of the prominent nationalists who took issue with the "disadvantaged" position of the Russians in the empire. He had wrote the book *The Tasks of the Russian Army*, where he claimed that non-Russians of the empire (Jews, Poles and Germans, among others) as well as foreigners were exploiting Russia's wealth, and advocated Russia's renaissance with the slogan "Russia for Russians."[100] In an order given on August 23, he urged Central Asians to carry out labor, saying, "in these hard times experienced by the Russian people, the native population of Turkestan should remember the Russian government's cares of them and the sacrifices the core Russian population made for their prosperity."[101] At the same time, he was preparing to assign roles to Central Asian peoples according to their ethnic characters. In the same order, he prescribed that Turkmen laborers from Transcaspia, unlike

98 M. Tynyshpaev, *Istoriia kazakhskogo naroda* (Almaty, 1993), p. 41; *Vosstanie 1916 goda v Srednei Azii i Kazakhstane: sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow, 1960), pp. 496, 504.

99 RGIA, f. 1276, op. 11, d. 89, ll. 322–331ob.

100 A. N. Kuropatkin, *Zadachi russkoi armii*, vol. 3 (St. Petersburg), 1910.

101 TsGA RUz, f. 1044, op. 1, d. 4, ll. 10–11ob.

other ethnic groups, should work in arms as guardsmen. He also nourished an idea, as he wrote in his diary, that the Kyrgyz should be deported from the territories where Russian blood was shed, but as "born nomads" they should not be sedentarized but be tasked to breed army horses and sheep, and to join cavalry.[102]

Discussions of military service by Central Asians, which continued for more than half a century, reveal characteristic ways of thinking of Tsarist officials. Many of them thought that military service in either the regular army or militias would give the *inorodtsy* the sense of national unity and Russify them. At the same time, however, there was also a widely shared view that Russia could not allow the *inorodtsy* to participate in national defense because they lacked a sense of belonging to the Russian state, their trustworthiness and *grazhdanstvennost'* was low, and introduction of military service itself could provoke disturbances. The discussion took the character of a chicken-and-egg problem: would military service enhance their *grazhdanstvennost'* and Russify them, or did military service require a sufficiently high level of *grazhdanstvennost'* and Russification? Eventually, officials who mistrusted the *inorodtsy* always managed to block conscription proposals.

The way of discussing the subject varied depending on the personal views of the officials, Russia's relationships with the Great Britain, Afghanistan and China, as well as ongoing wars. The fact that the only ethnic military unit was formed from Turkmen, whose trustworthiness and *grazhdanstvennost'* was questionable, and the preparation of a bill on the *inorodtsy* conscription during World War I suggests that the usual way of thinking based on internal policy could be altered by serious military considerations.

Another conspicuous feature of the discussion was that courageousness, war-likeness, trustworthiness and *grazhdanstvennost'* were considered to be characters of ethnic groups (or groups defined by their modes of life such as nomadic and sedentary people) rather than qualities of individuals. Moreover, although different officials evaluated ethnic groups differently, the overall tendency of evaluation did not change

102 "Vosstanie 1916 g. v Srednei Azii," *Krasnyi arkhiv* 34 (1929), pp. 60–61.

significantly from the 1860s to the 1910s. Talking about the character of nomads, they frequently referred to the past: Chingis Khan, Tamerlane and revolts of some decades ago.

During the revolutions of 1917, the civil war, and the first years of the Soviet period, the possibility of conscripting Central Asians was discussed from time to time. After some hesitation, the Soviets introduced universal conscription throughout the country in 1925 without serious confusion. Although political and social change from 1916 to 1925 was enormous, this seems to suggest that discussion based on fixed "ethnic characters" was not valid.

Conclusion: Russia's Distrust of Its Own Subjects and Orientalistic Particularism

In the discussions both on Christianization and military conscription, many officials shared the view that it was desirable to Russify Central Asians. There was, however, hardly any resolute determination to carry out Russification. Fear of inciting disturbances by careless measures was much stronger. Officials could not dispel their distrust of the empire's own subjects—Central Asians and Tatars in our case, and also Jews, Poles, Germans, etc.,[103] in varied contexts. They were interested in the passive maintenance of stability rather than the active integration and Russification. Ordinary Russians also hampered Russification of non-Russians by exploiting baptized non-Russians and incited Central Asians' mistrust of the authorities by telling them provocative rumors.

Naturally, the situation changed as time went on. The desire to Christianize Central Asians steadily declined by 1905, while demands for the *inorodtsy* to assume the same obligations as the Russians increased in the last years of the Tsarist period. In a limited sense, this tendency represented an attempt at getting rid of the old imperial practice of conciliating non-Russians by giving them privileges, and making transition to a nation-state that imposes equal obligations on all citizens. In the back-

103 For the case of the Poles, see MATSUZATO Kimitaka, "Pol'skii faktor v Pravoberezhnoi Ukraine s XIX po nachalo XX veka," *Ab Imperio* 1 (2000), pp. 91–106.

ground, however, one can easily discern Russian nationalists' negative thinking that anything deemed "advantageous" to non-Russians had to be abolished, regardless of the possibility that the abolition would further alienate them. In the particular case of the Kazakh steppe, the mass influx of Russian peasants weighed heavily. In the nineteenth century administrators pretended that they were defending the Kazakhs from the Tatars, and poor Kazakhs from the rich,[104] but in the early twentieth century, they explicitly gave priority to the settlement of Russian peasants which was to the detriment of the Kazakhs.

Even when non-Russians declared their readiness to fulfill their expanded obligations with the aim of improving their rights, the government's reaction was dull. The government was reluctant to accept offers by national intellectuals and Duma deputies to mediate between it and ordinary people. The government maintained secretive practices of decision-making. Thus, simultaneously promoting half-hearted nation-state building and Russian ethnonationalism, and maintaining autocracy, the government produced the indiscreet ukase of June 1916.

Another extremely important feature of the discussions was the fact that officials always made distinctions between the "Kirgiz," "Sarts" and Turkmen, and between Central Asians and Tatars, peoples of Siberia, the Caucasus and, needless to say, Western parts of the empire. The situation was not such that diverse conditions in the empire naturally produced diverse systems of administration, but that officials were obsessed with the idea that they had to discuss the pros and cons of a policy measure in relation to every single region or ethnic group. They believed that failure to adopt particularistic ways to implement measures would lead to revolt and other tragic situations.

Particularism partly derived from the character inherent in autocratic empires. In these empires, a subjugated country or people pledged allegiance separately to the monarch, and were given peculiar privileges and obligations. This system was sometimes related to the estates, and in Russia, some ethnic groups were incorporated into the military estate of the Cossacks, while others were exempted from military service well before the period we discussed. However, particularism from the

104 Uyama, "A Strategic Alliance," pp. 244–249, 253–255.

mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries went further. It was supported by various stereotypes that sedentary Muslims were "fanatical"; the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz were "half-Muslims" (and therefore relatively easy to Christianize); nomads were "warlike," and so on.

These stereotypes were not simple prejudices held by illiterate officers, but something produced and reproduced in quasi-academic discourses. In fact, the wall between the military and scholarship was far from impermeable: governor-generals Kaufman and Dukhovskoi were renowned patrons of academic research; general Grodekov and captain Wälikhanov were themselves prominent scholars; officers in the Asian department of the Main Headquarters were acknowledged experts on Asiatic Russia. Their attitude to attach excessively great importance to ethnic and regional characters was a product of Orientalism, whereby the West wielded "the power to say what was significant about him [the Other/Oriental], classify him among others of his breed, put him in his place."[105]

The "(confusedly) classifying mind" is also characteristic of colonial states, which invented, in an ostensibly rigorous manner, pseudoethnic categories that did not correspond to identities of local people themselves.[106] The British stressed the diversity of India on every occasion.[107] British administrators in Africa, who respected their own "tradition," looked with favor upon what they took to be traditional in Africa, and invented such "tradition" as tribes and customary law.[108] Similarly, Russian officials transformed or "invented" Kazakh customary law,[109] and

105 Michael Dalby, "Nocturnal Labors in the Light of Day," *Journal of Asian Studies* 39, no. 3 (1980), p. 489. Edward Said emphasizes that the West otherized the East as a whole, but also acknowledges that one of the elements that prepared the way for modern Orientalist structures was "the whole impulse to classify nature and man into types." Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), p. 119.

106 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), p. 165.

107 Bernard S. Cohn, "Representing Authority in Victorian India," in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 166, 184, 193–194.

108 Terence Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa," ibid., pp. 212, 247–260.

109 Virginia Martin, *Law and Custom in the Steppe: The Kazakhs of the Middle Horde and Russian Colonialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001), pp. 3–8, 166.

published pieces of oral literature that allegedly proved the stark distinction between Kazakh and Tatar cultures. Thus, we can properly understand the particularism of the Russian Empire by putting it in the contexts of both autocracy and Orientalism/colonialism.

Officials sometimes used universalistic idioms such as *grazhdanstvennost'*, among others. This word, however, was highly deceptive. They often used it not in its literal meaning of "citizenship," "civicness" or "civic-mindedness," but in the sense of a level of cultural development, as an argument for not applying general rules to underdeveloped peoples. In addition, ethnic characters were only partially associated with universal developmental stages, such as nomadic and agricultural ones. Two major sedentary Muslim peoples, Tatars and Uzbeks, were never confused.

Officials also compared various regions of the empire, and when they discussed problems of Central Asia, often drew lessons from experiences in the Volga-Urals and the Caucasus. However, they usually referred to negative cases, and wrote that if missionaries were powerless in relation to the Tatars, they had no chance in Turkestan, and also cited the unsuccessful experience of militias in the North Caucasus. As far as I know, they never said that the limited success of Christianizing Muslims (Ossetians, Abkhaz, Kists) in the Caucasus[110] was a good example for proselytism in Central Asia, and never questioned why "untrustworthy" Tatars could be conscripted, while Central Asians could not.[111]

It is true that not all Tsarist officials supported particularism. There were sometimes attempts at adopting a unified policy throughout the empire. It was obstructed, however, by the practice of stopping the decision-making when there was a strong objection of any high-ranking official, and deeming it natural for the successor official to revoke the predecessor's course. Ministers, governor-generals, governors and other high-ranking officials made policy decisions through slow exchange of letters with each other, and it was difficult to realize new initiatives. Moreover, despite such a complicated and particularistic decision-making

110 See Sanikidze's paper in this volume.

111 Although "otherized" in discourses, the Volga Tatars had deeper interaction with the Russian state than the Central Asians, through such institutions as the army, *zemstvo*s, schools, and the Muslim Spiritual Assembly. See Naganawa's paper in this volume.

system, the adopted measures were often not suited to local actual conditions. Governor-generals were supposed to grasp local realities by collecting opinions of governors, who collected opinions and information from uezd chiefs, who, in turn, collected information from volost heads. However, due to lack of confidence between officials of the uezd level and higher, on one hand, and native administrators of volosts and villages, on the other, volost heads were perceived as "impermeable curtains," and the grasp of local situations by Russian officials was shaky.

The native intellectuals' reactions to Russian policy were also remarkable. More often than not, Kazakh intellectuals did not directly challenge but tried to make use of particularistic discourses, though not always successfully. In the late nineteenth century, following Russian officials, they alleged the Tatars' negative influence and stressed the originality of Kazakh culture.[112] Defending the Kazakhs' religious rights and exemption from military service, they referred to privileges allegedly given by Tsars to them. During World War I, they sought to advance the Kazakhs' rights on equal terms with the Cossacks, who had special privileges as a military estate.

Finally, as Yuri Slezkine has discussed "ethnic particularism" of the Soviet Union,[113] I have to explain the difference between it and particularism of the Russian Empire. In the Soviet Union, ethnic boundaries were made clear and ethnicities were given territorial autonomies, but the system of ethnoterritorial formation (Union republics – autonomous republics – autonomous oblasts) was common throughout the country, and peculiar ethnic characters were not used, at least explicitly, as reasons for privileging or discriminating some ethnic groups. In the Russian Empire, ethnic boundaries were confused and ethnoterritorial autonomy was not acknowledged, but there was no common policy for integrating diverse ethnic groups, and peculiar ethnic characters were extensively cited as reasons for adopting particularistic policies.

112 Uyama, "A Strategic Alliance," pp. 253–255.

113 Yuri Slezkine, "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism," *Slavic Review* 53, no. 2 (1994), pp. 414–452.

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NAGANAWA Norihiro

Maktab or School? Introduction of Universal Primary Education among the Volga-Ural Muslims

Introduction

In marked contrast with Muslims in Turkestan and the Kazakh steppe, the Volga-Ural Muslims could enjoy zemstvo, local self-government at province and county levels, which was one of the constituents of Alexander II's Great Reforms. Zemstvos had been local promoters of universal primary education before the government began to show a serious commitment to primary education by the turn of the century and escalated its spread by reinforcing subsidies to zemstvos after the 1905 Revolution. Since the Regulations on non-Russian education in 1870, the Ministry of Education (MNP) had made a great effort to cultivate Russian education among the Muslim subjects by means of non-Russian schools and Russian language classes within maktabs and madrasas. During the same period Muslims themselves had begun to reorganize their confessional schools by introducing a new method (*uṣūl-i jadīd*). Zemstvos' participation in the expansion of primary education among the Muslims, important tax payers equal to the Russian peasants, complicated the question of the Muslim schooling. After 1905 competition between the MNP and zemstvos for leadership in non-Russian education

became fiercer than ever, and two alternatives appeared before Muslims: continuing to reform Jadid maktabs for their entrance to an official school network (*shkol'naia set'*), or adapting ministry and zemstvo schools for Muslims' interests.

Comparing Kazan, Ufa and Orenburg provinces, this chapter illustrates how the Volga-Ural Muslims were involved in the national project of universal primary education. It also examines different strategies that the Muslim intellectuals and villagers employed in relations with the state institutions in general and zemstvos in particular. Although historians have noticed distinctions between zemstvos and the MNP, study of imperial education policy toward Muslims has usually dealt with legislative processes in the ministries and the State Duma, operations of the local MNP officials or the Orthodox missionaries and, though not in any substantial way, Muslims' reactions to these measures.[1] As concerns the Ufa zemstvos, Charles Steinwedel depicts their activities within the political scene on both provincial and imperial levels.[2] But generally, unique cooperative relationships between the local self-government and the Muslims have not been well understood.[3] Dissertations on the zemstvo schools appeared only recently in Ufa and Kazan, which reflects today's vital interest in the education policy of the Republics of Bashkortostan and Tatarstan.[4] However, they accept such a stereotype as conservative Muslims' resistance to zemstvo schools from local works of

1 A. Kh. Makhmutova, *Stanovlenie svetskogo obrazovaniia u tatar: bor'ba vokrug shkol'nogo voprosa, 1861–1917* (Kazan, 1982); M. N. Farkhshatov, *Narodnoe obrazovanie v Bashkirii v poreformennyi period, 60–90e gody XIX v.* (Moscow, 1994); idem, *Samoderzhavie i traditsionnye shkoly bashkir i tatar v nachale XX veka, 1900–1917 gg.* (Ufa, 2000); Wayne Dowler, *Classroom and Empire: The Politics of Schooling Russia's Eastern Nationalities* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

2 Charles R. Steinwedel, "Invisible Threads of Empire: State, Religion, and Ethnicity in Tsarist Bashkiria, 1773–1917" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1999).

3 For a valuable exception, R. Salikhov, *Tatarskaia burzhuaziia Kazani i natsional'nye reformy vtoroi poloviny XIX – nachala XX v.* (Kazan, 2001), chap. 3.

4 G. B. Azamatova, "Deiatel'nost' Ufimskogo zemstva v oblasti narodnogo obrazovaniia 1874–1917" (Dissertatsiia na soiskanie uchenoi stepeni kandidata istoricheskikh nauk, Bashkirskii Gosudarstvennyi universitet, 2000). Its third chapter is "Zemstvo and Education of Non-Russian Population"; Iu. E. Zhelezniakova, "Zemskaia shkola Kazanskoi gubernii 1865–1917gg." (Dissertatsiia na soiskanie uchenoi stepeni kandidata istoricheskikh nauk, Kazanskii Gosudarstvennyi universitet, 2002).

"national history" as well as imperial literature including Muslim intellectuals' critiques. We will contextualize this sweeping image by considering political and administrative conditions in which Muslim communities (*maḥalla*s) and zemstvos existed.

This chapter is located also in the general context of the zemstvo study. That helps to reconsider experiences apparently peculiar to Muslims within a broader context of modernization of Russian society.[5] The Ufa zemstvos and later the Orenburg zemstvos tried to supplement their school construction by making use of existing new-method maktabs. We can find precedent efforts in 1864–1890, when zemstvos worked for the spread of primary education by formalizing existing peasant-sponsored literacy schools. Moreover, we aim to challenge the post-1905 "zemstvo reaction" paradigm, as S. Seregny did by drawing evidence mainly from Ufa province. It has usually been said that the increase in MNP funding of universal primary schools brought about greater ministry control of the schools and insulation of zemstvo authority from the schools.[6] However, zemstvos in this period went on to mount the most ambitious peasant-oriented campaigns in education in their entire fifty-year history.[7] Ben Eklof's point that the zemstvos took advantage of control over the administration of education to give shape and emphasis to policy is well applicable to the Ufa and Orenburg zemstvos' positive measures to non-Russian schools.[8] Indeed, rivalry between the MNP and zemtsy (zemstvo workers) was all the more serious in non-Russian education; school policy depended on what kind of "Russian citizenship" should be implanted among the non-Russians.[9]

5 The phonetic method was "progressive" in zemstvo schools as well as Jadid schools. It caused protest also among the Russian peasants, who had learned literacy by the old method. Zhelezniakova, "Zemskaia shkola," pp. 53, 106.

6 Jeffrey Brooks, "The Zemstvo and the Education of the People," in Terence Emmons and Wayne S. Vucinich, eds., *The Zemstvo in Russia: An Experiment in Local Self-Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 268; Dowler, *Classroom and Empire*, p. 210.

7 Scott J. Seregny, "Zemstvos, Peasants, and Citizenship: The Russian Adult Education Movement and World War I," *Slavic Review* 59, no. 2 (2000), p. 292.

8 Ben Eklof, *Russian Peasant Schools: Officialdom, Village Culture, and Popular Pedagogy, 1861–1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 58.

9 Steinwedel, "Invisible Threads of Empire," chap. 7.

In administrative terms the Volga-Ural region was divided into the Kazan and Orenburg Education Districts.[10] While the Kazan District played a leading role in planting missionary schools, the Orenburg District put its priority on organization of non-Russian schools sponsored by the zemstvos and the Ministry of Education.[11] In 1910 almost half of non-Russian schools in the Orenburg District were operating in Ufa province.[12] Such a situation exacerbated conflict between the Ufa zemstvos and the MNP over jurisdiction: while the ministry tried to confine the zemstvos' participation to the financial sphere of schools, Ufa zemtsy made an effort to organize the pedagogic sphere, too. In 1909, when the introduction of universal education started from Zlatoust county, Ufa zemtsy began to take maktabs and madrasas into serious consideration.[13]

Ufa province deserves special attention not only in terms of the relations between zemstvos and the MNP. Ufa province had the second largest Muslim population after Ferghana province in the empire,[14] and Muslims made up half of the population in Ufa province. The zemstvos could make use of the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly in Ufa, the sole Muslim authority in the Volga-Ural region, for promotion of their schooling projects among the Muslims. Importantly, Ufa zemstvos provided Muslims and zemstvos of neighbouring provinces with models of creative cooperation with Muslims in education policy. In comparison with Ufa province, Kazan zemtsy put their emphasis on the building of roads, bridges, etc. A Kazan Muslim newspaper, highly evaluating Ufa zemstvo's contribution to Muslim education, complained that roads and

10 The Kazan District included Astrakhan, Kazan, Samara, Saratov, Simbirsk and Viatka provinces. The Orenburg District included Orenburg, Perm, Ufa provinces and two steppe provinces, Torghay and Ural'sk.

11 A. F. Efirov, *Nerusskie shkoly Povolzh'ia, Priural'ia i Sibiri: istoricheskii ocherk* (Moscow, 1948), p. 48.

12 *Zhurnaly zasedanii s"ezd direktorov i inspektorov narodnykh uchilishch Orenburgskogo uchebnogo Okruga v g. Ufe 11–16 iiunia 1912 goda* (Ufa, 1913), p. 316.

13 Azamatova, "Deiatel'nost' Ufimskogo zemstva," pp. 158, 203. Zlatoust county stood in a leading position in the province, for it was a centre of mining and metallurgical industry, which motivated the workers to have education. Farkhshatov, *Narodnoe obrazovanie v Bashkirii*, pp. 112.

14 *Mir islama* 2 (1913), p. 761.

bridges were the second or third most important needs for the people.[15] After the introduction of zemstvos to Orenburg province in 1913,[16] the zemtsy often referred to Ufa colleagues' experience and directly collaborated with them. Muslims in the neighbouring Western Siberia Education District eagerly observed experiments of Ufa zemstvos.[17]

As the introduction of universal primary education revealed disagreement between the MNP and the zemtsy over the cause of non-Russian education, the spread of standardized schools caused a polemic among the Muslim intellectuals over the coexistence of Russian citizenship and nationality. That was well reflected in a series of articles titled "Maktab or School? (*Maktab mī Ushqūlā mī?*)" in the Muslim press during 1913–1916. The debate spread in the northern periphery of Central Eurasia, from Kazan to Tomsk. We will analyze two aspects of the argument: financial management of *maḥalla*,[18] and identification of maktabs in the modernization of the imperial school system. The polemic started in a Kazan journal, *Maktab* in terms of the first aspect. After 1905 the new-method maktabs' education program was increasingly approaching that of zemstvo schools. Issues in the debate developed from alternatives between maktab and school to elaboration of "a third type" of Muslim school.

The main orators of the debate were "secular" intellectuals (*ḍiyālīlar*) and maktab teachers (*mu'allim*s).[19] Having studied in new-method

15 *Yūrduz*, April 10, 1914, pp. 2–3.

16 The question of introduction of zemstvos to the south-eastern frontiers (Astrakhan, Orenburg and Stavropol' provinces) was on the agenda at nearly the same time as the western frontiers. The Muslim press also kept up with the legislative process. *Waqt*, November 13, 1911, p. 1; January 26, 1912, pp. 1–2.

17 Stéphane A. Dudoignon, "Un islam périphérique? Quelques réflexions sur la presse musulmane de Sibérie à la veille de la Première Guerre mondiale," *Cahiers du Monde russe* 41, no. 2–3 (2000), p. 321.

18 I located this question in the broader context of organization of mahalla. See my "Molding the Muslim Community through the Tsarist Administration: *Maḥalla* under the Jurisdiction of Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly after 1905," A*cta Slavica Iaponica* 23 (2006), pp. 101–123.

19 For the specifics of their discourse on "nation," see my "Predstavlenie Dzh. Validova o poniatii 'natsiia,' millät posle Pervoi rossiiskoi revolutsii," in *Sbornik materialov itogovykh konferentsii molodykh uchenykh Instituta istorii imeni Sh. Mardzhani Akademii nauk RT za 2003–2004 gody* (Kazan, 2004), pp. 222–228.

maktabs or non-Russian schools, they preferred pedagogic and writing activities under private patronage of mullahs or merchants, to clerical duties that were subordinated to unstable mahalla economy.[20] The appearance of Muslim journalism in the wake of the 1905 Revolution widened their sphere of activity. Thereby, the Muslim intelligentsia, distinct from the clergy (*rūḥānīlar*), came into being. The introduction of universal primary education could threaten the presence of muallims: is it possible to make new-method maktabs compete with standardized state schools by mahalla's limited sources? If these maktabs were replaced by the schools, could muallims find work there? The arguments clearly reflected the development of interaction with zemstvos and local conditions in which participants of the debate lived.

Muslims' Attitudes toward Zemstvos' Education Activity

The 1906 reforms and the general mobilization of the Muslim community for Duma elections had ambiguous effects on Muslim participation in zemstvo affairs.[21] This section challenges a dichotomy in explaining Muslims' attitudes toward schooling reform in general and zemstvos' enterprise in particular: Jadid intellectuals as the only force of social reorganization on one hand, and the isolated, traditional, static, inward-looking common Muslim peasants, on the other.[22] At the beginning of the twentieth century Muslim reformists exploited these stereotypes to identify their mission in the Muslim community. Today's "national" historiographies of Kazan and Ufa contribute to the reproduction of these representations. However, we contend that it was the "national" rhetoric of the Muslim intellectuals that sometimes rendered difficult

20 Stéphane A. Dudoignon, "Status, Strategies and Discourses of a Muslim 'Clergy' under a Christian Law: Polemics about the Collection of the Zakât in Late Imperial Russia," in Stéphane A. Dudoignon and KOMATSU Hisao, eds., *Islam in Politics in Russia and Central Asia: Early Eighteenth to Late Twentieth Century* (London: Kegan Paul, 2001), pp. 57, 59; The reform of mahalla was needed in order to attract the young to the clerical job. *Ṭūrmush*, November 23, 1914, p. 1.

21 Steinwedel, "Invisible Threads of Empire," pp. 326–327.

22 For the case of the Russian peasants, see Seregny, "Zemstvos, Peasants, and Citizenship," p. 314.

their negotiation with zemstvos.

After 1905 Muslim villagers increasingly began to see zemstvo support as an alternative to parish resources. In June 1905, a meeting of Bashkir representatives of Ufa province petitioned against any restrictions on Muslims' election to zemstvo assemblies, and for sending Muslims to zemstvo executive boards in counties. Those present at the meeting also thought it necessary to open trade schools at zemstvos' expense so that Muslim peasants could live by trade in years of bad harvest.[23] The congregation of the fourth mahalla in Safarovo village, Ufa county was too poor to build maktab or madrasa by themselves, which compelled them to depend on zemstvo subsidies. However, neighbouring mullahs condemned them for infringement of the Islamic law (*sharī'a)*. Responding to a petition from an imam of the fourth parish, the Spiritual Assembly on August 8, 1906 pronounced an opinion (*fatwā*) that the shari'a did not prohibit the use of zemstvo subsidies for construction and maintenance of confessional schools.[24] An Orenburg newspaper *Waqt* considered the fatwa "crucial for all the community (*millat*)" and attracted readers' special attention.[25] Later, in Safarovo, except maktabs for boys and girls, Russian-Tatar schools were opened, where 50 boys and 70 girls separately studied Russian and "Muslim language (*muslimāncha*)."[26] At the end of 1913, when the provincial zemstvo began to establish 6 non-Russian regional libraries, one of them was placed in this village.[27]

The most familiar reasoning for zemstvo schools' unpopularity has been religious conservativeness among the Muslims and mullahs' stub-

23 *Protokol Ufimskogo Gubernskogo Soveshchaniia, obrazovannogo s razresheniia G. Ministra Vnutrennikh Del iz doverennykh bashkirskikh volostei Ufimskoi gubernii dlia obsuzhdeniia voprosov, kasaiushchikhsia magometanskoi religii i voobshche nuzhd bashkirskogo naseleniia: 22, 23 i 25 iiunia 1905 goda* (Ufa, 1905), pp. 18–19.

24 Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv Respubliki Bashkortostan (TsGIARB), f. I-295 (Orenburgskoe magometanskoe dukhovnoe sobranie), op. 2, d. 281, n.p. (journal of August 8, 1906).

25 *Waqt*, August 19, 1906, p. 3; August 26, 1906, p. 1.

26 *Waqt*, January 15, 1914, p. 3.

27 *Waqt*, December 10, 1913, p. 2. One of the libraries was also placed in Yāngā Qārāmālī village, Sterlitamak county, where Mirsaid Sultangaliev was appointed as library head.

born resistance against "the centres of Christianization."[28] But first of all, it is worthwhile comparing the Muslim case with a history of Russian literacy schools in the latter half of the nineteenth century; seeing the existence of literacy schools as an indicator of latent demand for education, zemstvos incorporated them into the primary schooling system. In this process the Russian peasants also stressed religious instruction, and teachers found that its inclusion was a way to win their support for the school. While zemstvo funds were limited, peasant communes retained the initiative not only in funding schools but also in school curricula.[29] As "Maktab or School" debate suggested, Muslims also tried to share in school management with zemtsy so that maktabs and schools lived up to "national spirit (*millī rūḥ*)."

The extent to which officials of the Ministry of the Interior intervened in Muslim affairs also defined the range of zemstvo operations and Muslims' participation in them. While persecution of Jadids equated with "Pan-Islamists" was in full swing after 1905 especially in Kazan province, the Ufa and Orenburg governors even refuted arguments of central MVD officials, pointing out that "fanatical" mullahs denounced "the progressive" lest the former lose their prestige and material base.[30] To be sure, the Ufa governor tried to eliminate Muslim deputies from zemstvos, just as Stolypin did against the Poles in the western provinces. However, Petr Koropachinskii, provincial zemstvo chairman with Kadet sympathies, managed to avoid conflicts with the governor.[31] It was his initiative that promoted the collaboration with Jadid intellectuals.

Moreover, recent studies of various Muslim communities in Central Eurasia demonstrate the existence of internal politics that were caused by competition over the state's patronage and distribution of "cultural"

28 Salikhov, *Tatarskaia burzhuaziia Kazani*, p. 52; Azamatova, "Deiatel'nost' Ufimskogo zemstva," p. 132; Zhelezniakova, "Zemskaia shkola," pp. 63–64.

29 Brooks, "The Zemstvo and the Education," pp. 253, 261–262; Eklof, *Russian Peasant Schools*, pp. 84, 86, 88.

30 Farkhshatov, *Samoderzhavie i traditsionnye shkoly*, pp. 67–68, 211–218. It should be added that the Orthodox missionaries' influence on the MVD operations was obvious in Kazan province. See my paper presented at the VII ICCEES World Congress in Berlin (July 28, 2005), "Political Reliability: The Kazan Provincial Governorship and the Control of the Muslim Clergies (1905–1917)."

31 Steinwedel, "Invisible Threads of Empire," pp. 329, 435–436.

and financial capital.[32] It follows from these arguments that the growing interaction with the Russian authorities after 1905 activated the politics inside the Muslim communities, and that conflicts of interests thereby limited their approach to zemstvos. While some tried to make use of zemstvos to maintain the mahalla life, others could invite the security police to stop such an innovation under the rubric of defence of the shari'a. In Kazan province, where police intervention intensified after 1905, it might not have been easy for the Muslims to call for zemstvo support. Peasants of Shemiakovo village in Mamadysh county agreed to build a madrasa with a Russian language class by accepting financial assistance from the county zemstvo and Ni'mat Allāh 'Abbāsuf, a fellow-villager merchant living in Irgiz, Torghay province. But this enraged their mullah Davletsha Ibatullin, who had studied in Bukhara and stuck to "Bukharan order." In order to remove the mullah, the parishioners informed on him to the provincial authorities, claiming that he had been once in contact with "Mukhamedgalii," i.e., Dukchi Ishan, a leader of the Andizhan uprising. The mullah and his supporters tried to convince the police of the merchant's "political disloyalty," depicting him as a "Pan-Islamist."[33]

Along with the persecution of Jadids, it was due to parallelism and egalitarianism in Kazan intellectuals' rhetoric of "national" interests that negotiation with the zemtsy did not bring about the same results as in Ufa province. For protection of "national spirit," they usually insisted on maktabs' *parallel* existence with the state and zemstvo schools, and on the government's *equal* subsidizing of both church-parish schools and maktabs. The distinction in formation of the Muslim intelligentsia in Kazan and Ufa provinces also seems to have told on their different

32 Stéphane A. Dudoignon, "Qu'est-ce que la 'qadîmiya'? Éléments pour une sociologie du traditionalisme musulman, en Islam de Russie et en Transoxiane (au tournant des XIX^{e} et XX^{e} siècles)," in Stéphane A. Dudoignon et al., eds., *L'Islam de Russie: Conscience communautaire et autonomie politique chez les Tatars de la Volga et de l'Oural depuis le VIII^{e} siècle* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1997), pp. 207–225; Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Robert D. Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

33 Natsional'nyi arkhiv Respubliki Tatarstan (NART), f. 1 (Kantseliariia kazanskogo gubernatora), op. 6, d. 835.

strategies in the negotiation with zemstvos. Kazan reformists were originally those peasants and their children who had moved to Kazan in the 1870s and 1880s. It was their success in business that enabled them to take the initiative in reorganizing urban Muslim life.[34] On the other hand, many Ufa Muslim leaders were from noble families who had served in the state institutions and the local self-government in the province. This fact may account for their practiced collaboration with the zemtsy.

In October 1906 in the Kazan county zemstvo assembly, the executive board admitted the necessity of native-language zemstvo schools that should be freed of missionary and Russification tasks. However, the Muslim subcommittee headed by Galimjan Barudi (1857–1921), a founder of the first new-method maktab in Kazan, proposed that subsidies be allocated to existing maktabs and madrasas without the obligation of learning Russian, and that the schooling program be made exclusively on the resolutions of the third All-Russian Muslim Congress in August 1906. Hence the confessional schools should be under the supervision of the Spiritual Assembly.[35] Criticizing the subcommittee, which only demanded money and dismissed Russian education and the zemstvo's administration of schools, *Waqt* stressed that it was no use fearing the learning of Russian and zemstvo schools after the declaration of "freedom of conscience."[36]

Thus, whereas the Muslim peasants engaged in communal politics, resorting to "open" interactions with the state institutions, reform-minded Kazan intellectuals could not find common language with the zemtsy due to their "closed" understanding of "national" interests. In 1912 the head of police in Mamadysh county reported to the governor that the common people, not afraid of the MNP's control, petitioned for zemstvo schools, although the Tatar intelligentsia, out of the fear of the people's Russification, demanded the approval of their own general education program and the supervision of maktabs and madrasas under the Muslim clergy.[37]

34 Salikhov, *Tatarskaia burzhuaziia Kazani*, pp. 24, 29.

35 Salikhov, *Tatarskaia burzhuaziia Kazani*, pp. 50–51; *1906 sene 16–21 avgustta ictima etmiş Rusya müslümanlarının nedvesi* (Kazan, 1906), pp. 59–60, 101.

36 *Waqt*, December 16, 1906, p. 2.

37 NART, f. 2 (Kazanskoe gubernskoe pravlenie), op. 2, d. 8958, ll. 17–19ob.

If the interpenetration of the imperial law and Islamic idioms was a principle of the organization of the Muslim community in the Volga-Ural region,[38] then how did religious scholars, *rūḥānīlar*, try to interpret the support of the local self-government in theological terms? A former member (*Qāḍī*) of the Spiritual Assembly Riḍā' al-Dīn Fakhr al-Dīn abandoned egalitarianism with the Orthodox parish schools. He considered permanent financial resources for maktabs and madrasas to be subsidies of the local self-government and Islamic income tax (*zakāt*) imposed on possessions of the rich according to the shari'a. Fakhr al-Dīn proved that expenditure of zakat on maktabs and madrasas lived up to "God's Path (*Sabīl Allāh*)" in the sixtieth verse of the ninth chapter of Qur'ān which defines the use of zakat. Explaining that "God's Path" comprised the reinforcement of Islam and public welfare (*maṣāliḥ-i 'āmma*), he justified the self-government's support by this concept of public welfare. However, as far as universal primary education is concerned, it is possible that Fakhr al-Dīn still could not detect what this state project would bring to the imperial Muslim community. Keeping parallelism with the state schools, he only called for the Muslims' own efforts to secure religious and "national" knowledge (*dīnī wa millī 'ilm*).[39]

The huge investment of the Ministry of Education in widening the school network subjected the imperial education system to unprecedented transformation. The predominance of the state expenditure was thought to allow the ministry officials to take over the pedagogic leadership from the local self-government. However, the Ufa zemtsy strove to maintain their authority over education in general and non-Russian schooling in particular. As zemstvos elaborated their own cause of education and unique approach to the non-Russian population, the Muslim intellectuals were in their turn compelled to employ other tactics, instead of parallelism and egalitarianism.

38 See my "Molding the Muslim Community."

39 Riḍā' al-Dīn Fakhr al-Dīn, *Maktab wa zakāt, khazīna wa zīmstwā yārdamī* (Orenburg), pp. 54, 59, 62–63. Although the year of the publication is not printed, *Waqt* informed that it appeared in 1909. *Waqt*, May 7, 1909, pp. 3–4.

Zemstvo, Muslims, Ministry of Education in Ufa Province

Disagreement between zemstvos and the Ministry of Education over the perspective of universal primary education and reorganization of primary schools reached the highest stage in 1900–1907. On one hand, the ministry planned to introduce universal schooling by integrating all primary schools but Synod ones under its common direction and inspection. But in the State Duma, on the other hand, the ministry was obliged to promise allocation from its budget to zemstvos so that schools could be much more accessible to the local population.[40]

The law of May 3, 1908 on distribution of 6 million 900 thousand roubles to primary schools served as the first powerful spur for zemstvos. To be eligible, the county zemstvos had to submit a plan for realizing universal education within ten years. They were required to maintain existing outlays on education and to relieve the peasant communities of all obligations for school facilities. In addition, all schools had to have fully certified teachers and offer a four-year course of instruction.[41] Muslims were also attracted to the liberation from the maintenance of schools; if they began to go to new state schools, there would be no need to take pains to seek resources for their maktabs. But was it possible to abandon maktabs altogether? That was the crux of the debate over "Maktab or School."

In Ufa province the question about the school network for the Muslim population was on the agenda already in 1908. Before the provincial zemstvo assembly in that year, Muslim lawyer I. A. Akhtiamov, whose father had been head of the Belebei county board, presented a report to the school commission within the zemstvo executive board. He stressed that realization of universal education required the Muslims' entrance into the school network. He considered it possible to achieve universal education for Muslim boys in ten years, if not for girls. It deserves attention that Akhtiamov considered it necessary to find a new type of Muslim school that would provide knowledge in the native language as well

40 V. F. Abramov, "Zemstvo, narodnoe obrazovanie i prosveshchenie," *Voprosy istorii* 8 (1998), pp. 47–48.

41 Eklof, *Russian Peasant Schools*, p. 117.

as in Russian. In order to elaborate a program of the new schools, he suggested that the executive board invite to a conference representatives from both zemstvo and ministry schools and maktabs. Akhtiamov also insisted that teachers' schools be opened in Ufa both for men and women. The school commission added to his report that stipends to the Kazan Tatar Teachers' School should be intensified by county and provincial zemstvos.[42]

When the zemstvo assembly was convened in 1908, the provincial executive board criticized the county boards' reluctance to incorporate the Muslims in the school network on grounds of their unwillingness to go to neither zemstvo nor ministry schools. The provincial executive board claimed that the fact that maktabs and madrasas were managed by the people themselves and were filled with pupils was a sufficient indicator of their aspiration for literacy and knowledge. The executive board recognized that Muslims had not seen any difference between the state policy of Russification and the zemstvo activity of enlightenment. Taking into account "the recent progress of Tatar language," the executive board suggested that both Russian and Tatar languages acquire the same importance in the school. Those present agreed on Akhtiamov's suggestion to convene a conference, which would be realized in 1911.[43]

One of the advantages on which the Ufa zemtsy could depend was the cooperation with the Muslim religious authority. Ufa county, where 3/8 of the population were Tatars and Bashkirs, had only five schools for them, which covered only 1.3 percent of the school-year children. According to its school-network project, the county zemstvo planned to build 103 schools for boys and 102 for girls. In 1909 the county executive board asked the Spiritual Assembly for information on the degree to which the Bashkir-Tatar population was ready for universal education. The Spiritual Assembly answered that Muslims stood at the same level

42 P. N. Grigor'ev, *Ocherk deiatel'nosti Ufimskogo Gubernskogo Zemstva po narodnomu obrazovaniiu 1875–1910* (Ufa, 1910), p. 133. In 1914, for example, 14 students finished the Kazan Teachers' School. Seven of them had received grant from the Treasury, six from zemstvo stipends, one from pious endowment, *waqf* of Orenburg commerce tycoon, Akhmad Khusainov. Ten out of fourteen were from Ufa province. *Ṭürmush*, June 6, 1914, p. 3.

43 *XXXIV Ufimskomu ocherednomu Gubernskomu Sobraniiu: Doklad Gubernskoi upravy po voprosu o shkol'noi seti v otnoshenii musul'manskogo naseleniia gubernii* (Ufa, 1908), pp. 1–4, 12.

as the Russians and that all the measures for development of the economy and culture would equally affect Muslims. The authority advised that mother tongue and religious education not be ignored in order to erase Muslims' prejudice against schools.[44]

Both Ufa zemtsy and Muslims could find common interests also in training teachers of schools and maktabs, that is, *uchitel*'s and muallims. Just as the expansion of the school network of universal education required certified teachers in the schools, so the lack of qualified muallims, especially women, *mu'allima*s, was sharply felt in the development of new-method maktabs. In both cases, the absence of official certificates served as a good reason for the MNP inspectors to persecute schools and maktabs.

Once Ufa had a Tatar Teachers' school which had been established in 1872 in accordance with the regulations of non-Russian education in 1870. However, the school was closed down before it moved to Orenburg in 1876 and its building was handed over to the Kirgiz [Kazakh] Teachers' school in 1889.[45] At the beginning of the twentieth century, three teachers' schools existed for the Muslims: in Kazan and Simferopol' for Tatars and in Orenburg for Kazakhs. The provincial zemstvo had not abandoned its efforts to bring a Tatar Teachers' school back to Ufa; since 1898, when Muslim councilor (*glasnyi*) Tevkelev had proposed this question first, by 1912 the zemstvo had petitioned six times to the Ministry of Education.[46] The ministry in its turn recommended Muslims' education with the Russians, arguing that separate education would lead to "undesired national isolation and Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turkic aspiration."[47] It was not until 1916 that the question was partly solved by the Ufa zemstvo's establishment of a three-year pedagogic course for Muslim teachers.[48] Taking it as a model, Orenburg

44 TsGIARB, f. I-295, op. 11, d. 676, ll. 145–148.

45 A. V. Vasil'ev, *Istoricheskii ocherk russkogo obrazovaniia v Turgaiskoi oblasti i sovremennoe ego sostoianie* (Orenburg, 1896), p. 57.

46 Grigor'ev, *Ocherk deiatel'nosti Ufimskogo Gubernskogo Zemstva*, pp. 126, 129; *Otchet Ufimskoi gubernskoi zemskoi upravy XXXVIII ocherednomu Ufimskomu gubernskomu zemskomu sobraniiu po otdelu narodnogo obrazovaniia za 1912 goda* (Ufa, 1912), p. 6.

47 *Zhurnaly zasedanii s"ezda direktorov i inspektorov narodnykh uchilishch Orenburgskogo uchebnogo Okruga v g.Ufe 11–16 iiunia 1912 goda* (Ufa, 1913), p. 408.

48 For the curriculum of the course, see Efirov, *Nerusskie shkoly*, p. 66.

zemstvo also produced a program for a pedagogic course, which was approved by the curator of the Education District in November 1916.[49]

Muslims themselves tried to take advantage of every opportunity to gain official recognition for the need for teachers' schools. The first opportunity came with the 25th anniversary of the mufti M. Sultanov's appointment in 1911. On May 21 a big conference took place in Ufa with the governor's permission. Those present resolved to open male and female teachers' schools named after the mufti. A special commission was organized to prepare regulations on the schools, and donations for the project amounted to 100 thousand roubles.[50] Another opportunity arose in 1913, when the State Duma approved the establishment of 93 teachers' seminaries in commemoration of the 300th anniversary of Romanov dynasty. However, the Muslim faction in the Duma could not gain allocation for Muslim teachers' schools, which caused harsh criticism in the press.[51]

In May 23–25, 1911 as the zemstvo assembly had resolved in 1908, the Ufa provincial board held a conference to seek a possible type of new primary school for Muslims. Those present were 10 zemtsy, 2 officials from the MNP and 23 Muslim muallims and intellectuals including the State Duma deputies from Ufa and Kazan. The conference took place against a backdrop of the Sate Duma having passed a bill on universal education in February. The resolutions would be brought to the All-Zemstvo congress on education in August. It was meaningful that in the congress the Ufa delegate declared that enlightenment should be non-Russian schools' sole aim, as Muslim representatives had insisted in the Ufa conference in May.[52] Conflict between the needs of pedagogy

49 As male teachers (*muallims*) were mobilized to the war, roles of female teachers (*muallimas*) were reinforced. Orenburg provincial executive board planned to make a summer course for female teachers of maktabs and schools in 1917. *Doklady Orenburgskoi Gubernskoi Zemskoi Upravy chetvertomu ocherednomu Gubernskomu Zemskomu Sobraniiu: Podotdel obrazovaniia inorodtsev, Otdel narodnogo obrazovaniia* (Orenburg, 1916), pp. 43–44, 50–57.

50 *Maktab* 1 (1914), pp. 7–11; 2 (1914), pp. 32–38; 3 (1914), pp. 55–61.

51 *Maktab* 2 (1913), pp. 40–42.

52 *Zhurnaly soveshchaniia pri Ufimskoi Gubernskoi Zemskoi Uprave po voprosu o tipe nachal'noi obshcheobrazovatel'noi musul'manskoi shkoly 23–25 maia 1911 g.* (Ufa, 1911), pp. 9–11; *Pervyi Obshchezemskii S"ezd po narodnomu obrazovaniiu 1911 goda: Doklady*, vol. 1

and the demands of politics had been at the heart of the debate on the language of schooling in the third State Duma.[53]

In the Ufa conference the "Maktab or School" debate had already arisen between the Muslim representatives and the Ufa zemtsy. Steinwedel emphasizes a common position Ufa Muslims and zemtsy took, and distinguishes it from Kazan Muslims' arguments. The Ufa group spoke for new schools with the native language, and Kazan Muslims persisted in keeping religiousness in both old and new-method maktabs.[54] Steinwedel describes "ethnic" organization of schooling which involved both Muslims and zemtsy. To be sure, as discussed above, the Kazan and Ufa zemstvos were working under distinct circumstances. However, the protocol of the conference permits us to extract a common "Muslim" position: Muslims, both from Kazan or Ufa, were together trying to locate new-method maktabs within the future school system. They took for granted old-method maktabs' vanishing.

Kazan and Ufa Muslims shared an understanding that the program of new-method maktabs was approaching that of general-education schools. However, some Muslims predicted the replacement of these maktabs with new zemstvo schools, and others proposed the zemstvos to support existing maktabs. Those present[55] agreed that the entrance of maktabs into the school network was possible if they accepted a program of a new type of primary school that the provincial zemstvo would elaborate. However, P. F. Koropachinskii, head of the provincial zemstvo board, indicated that the MNP could disagree with the entrance due to "the confessional shade" of maktabs. When Muslims asked for subsidies to maktabs until the realization of universal education, the zemtsy stressed the principle of "general secular schools," according to which not only maktabs but also church-parish schools were not eligible for the subsidies.[56]

In order to examine the extent to which maktabs acquired "construc-

(Moscow, 1911), p. 690.

53 Dowler, *Classroom and Empire*, p. 204.

54 Steinwedel, "Invisible Threads of Empire," pp. 451–454.

55 Two officials from the MNP did not participate in the debate.

56 *Zhurnaly soveshchaniia*, pp. 41–51. One of those present was Fatikh Karimov, editor in-chief of *Waqt*. For his high evaluation of the conference, see *Waqt*, June 3, 1911, p. 2.

tion of secular primary school," the Ufa provincial zemstvo carried out a large-scale statistical investigation in 1912–1913. In May 1912, a special commission was organized for that purpose. It consisted of ten Muslims and four members of the executive board. In November forms with 115 questions written in "Tatar" were sent out to 2144 imams, i.e., leaders of mahallas throughout Ufa province, with the attachment of the Mufti's appeal.[57] Muslims met the investigation with sympathy; the organizer received 1579 responses. At nearly the same time the Menzelinsk county zemstvo, which already provided active support to maktabs and madrasas, also undertook a statistical investigation.[58]

The statistics detected a "secularization" tendency of maktabs in terms of the education program: "purely" confessional schools accounted for 18.1 percent of all the examined maktabs; 28.7 percent were labelled "transitional" type of maktab which taught either the mother tongue or one general-education subject; 39.2 percent of maktabs taught arithmetic in addition to Islam and the mother tongue; and 14 percent of maktabs gave elementary knowledge of history, geography and natural science.[59] The compiler of the final report was convinced that the assistance of the local self-government could accelerate maktabs' transition to primary secular schools, and that secular and well-organized maktabs would serve as a means of cultural development and could enter the school network with the same qualification as Russian primary schools.[60]

However, the MNP officials were afraid that zemstvos would undermine the MNP's pedagogic authority over primary schools. The law of May 3, 1908, which signalled the ministry's reinforcement of investment in universal primary education, jeopardized the traditional conflict over demarcation of competence between the ministry and zemstvos.[61] Edu-

57 *Otchet Ufimskoi gubernskoi zemskoi upravy*, pp. 30–32.

58 Azamatova, "Deiatel'nost' Ufimskogo zemstva," p. 154. The provincial statistics showed that Menzelinsk county had the largest number of maktabs, which was explained by the zemstvo's subsidies. M. I. Obukhov, *Mekteby Ufimskoi gubernii: Statisticheskii ocherk tatarskikh i bashkirskikh nizshikh shkol (mektebov) Ufimskoi gubernii po dannym issledovaniia Ufimskoi gubernskoi zemskoi upravy* (Ufa, 1915), p. 9.

59 Obukhov, *Mekteby Ufimskoi gubernii*, pp. 30–31.

60 Ibid, p. 40.

61 For the situation before 1905, see Grigor'ev, *Ocherk deiatel'nosti Ufimskogo Gubernskogo Zemstva*, pp. 130–131.

cation Minister L. A. Kasso tried to intensify the local inspectors' control over zemstvo schools. In reality, since zemstvos had their own financial resources, it was more difficult for the ministry to increase the number of inspectors than for zemstvos to increase the number of schools.[62]

In 1912, when the congress of directors and inspectors of the Orenburg Education District was convened, the 1911 conference of the Ufa provincial zemstvo board was denounced as an infringement of the law. Special attention was focused on the zemstvo's education program for languages and religious subjects for a new type of Muslim school; the Ufa conference had accepted that the teaching be done in the native language during the whole four years of schooling, and that the learning of Russian start from the second half of the first year. The zemstvo executive board had decided to entrust the elaboration of religious subjects to the Spiritual Assembly.[63] The congress passed a resolution that the jurisdiction of the local self-government had to be strictly limited to a financial sphere of schools.[64]

In contradiction of the Ufa zemtsy's declaration, curator of the education district V. N. Vladimirov pronounced "merging with the Russians (*sliianie s russkimi*)" to be the task of non-Russian schools. Having experienced "struggle with the Catholics" in Vil'na Education District before his coming to Orenburg in 1910,[65] he thought that learning Russian through the Tatar language served as a spur to "Tatarization" of Russian-Bashkir schools. On the whole those present launched a fierce attack on Il'minskii's method; discarding "missionary" tasks of schools and cautioning against an excessive use of the native language, they put priority on learning Russian and acquisition of "Russian citizenship (*russkaia grazhdanstvennost'*)."[66] The congress resolved non-Russians' studying with Russians in the standardized four-year non-Russian schools[67] and the start of Russian learning within a few months after

62 Abramov, "Zemstvo, narodnoe obrazovanie," p. 49.

63 *Zhurnaly soveshchaniia*, pp. 19, 54–55, 74.

64 *Zhurnaly zasedanii s"ezda*, pp. 12–36.

65 Farkhshatov, *Samoderzhavie i traditsionnye shkoly*, p. 69.

66 *Zhurnaly zasedanii s"ezda*, pp. 329, 331, 341–342, 345–346.

67 Non-Russian schools were not always "mixed" ones. Efirov, *Nerusskie shkoly*, pp. 29, 48–49.

pupils' entrance.[68]

Thus, Eklof's revision of the paradigm of "a tug-of-war between a benevolent zemstvo and an obscurantist government" should be interpreted carefully. He emphasizes a form of "joint government-zemstvo venture" in establishing a school network, and thereby he tends to underestimate conflicting aspects in the relationship between zemstvos and the MNP. To be sure, he notices that huge subsidies from the ministry for primary schools blurred their jurisdiction after 1908.[69] However, the conflict between the Ufa provincial zemstvo and the local ministry officers demonstrates that while the MNP recognized zemstvos' financial contribution to school construction, it tried to keep them out of the pedagogic sphere of a non-Russian schooling project. The ministry and the Ufa zemstvo competed with each other not only for the control of schools, but for the cause of non-Russian education.

Zemstvos' commitment to Muslim schooling was all the more intensified in the southern Urals with the introduction of zemstvos in Orenburg province in 1913. Naturally Ufa's experiments served as valuable models there. At the end of 1914 Ibrahim Bikchentaev was appointed as chief of non-Russian education within the Orenburg provincial zemstvo board. The year of 1915 became a fruitful year for Muslim education. As Seregny illustrates, peasants' interest in information on the war offered the key to awaking popular interest in enlightenment in general, and thereby offered a unique opportunity to nurture citizenship.[70]

In 1915 Bikchentaev elaborated a four-year education program for maktabs; if maktabs accepted this program, they could receive zemstvo subsidies. The program was sent out not only to the county zemstvos in Orenburg province, but also to the Spiritual Assembly in Ufa and an influential Muslim paper *Waqt* in order to "present the program to Muslim public opinion." Bikchentaev participated in the conference which was convened at the initiative of the Ufa provincial zemstvo to examine textbooks for Russian-Tatar schools and maktabs. In 1915 the Orenburg

68 It is possible that the resolution would affect the regulations on non-Russian education in 1913. Farkhshatov, *Samoderzhavie i traditsionnye shkoly*, pp. 87–88, 247.

69 Eklof, *Russian Peasant Schools*, pp. 88, 95, 118–119.

70 Seregny, "Zemstvos, Peasants, and Citizenship," pp. 302, 304. Despite the war censorship, *Waqt* devoted many pages to the war and zemstvo activities.

zemstvo also carried out a statistical investigation on maktabs in the province. Six regional libraries each with three branches were opened for Muslims. The county zemstvos set the amount of subsidies to maktabs at: Orenburg 7,000 roubles, Orsk 15,000 roubles, Cheliabinsk 200 roubles per maktab, Verkhneural'sk and Troitsk 140 roubles per maktab. *Waqt* showed the Muslim public the procedure for receipt of the subsidies.[71]

The difference in the cause of non-Russian primary education between the Ministry of Education and the Ufa zemstvos became obvious: whereas the ministry aimed at their merging with the Russians through the Russian language, the zemtsy engaged in enlightenment through non-Russians' mother tongues. However, a common principle the ministry and the zemstvo shared was "secularism" in schooling. Therefore, the process of secularization affected church-parish schools, with which Muslims wanted to equalize their maktabs.[72] The Ufa provincial zemstvo declined Muslim intellectuals' egalitarian demand for subsidies, and the ministry officials abandoned the schools' missionary task. Nevertheless, while reformers of the State Duma had passed a bill of universal education that intended incorporation of church schools into the school network, the State Council dismissed the bill, arguing that "Russia should not be deprived of church schools and an independent administration of religious education."[73]

The government applied this rigid separation between confessional

71 *Waqt*, June 17, 1915, p. 1; June 20, 1915, pp. 1–2; January 13, 1916, pp. 1–2; *Zhurnaly I i II soveshchanii po narodnomu obrazovaniiu pri Orenburgskoi gubernskoi zemskoi uprave v 1915 godu* (Orenburg, 1915), pp. 39–42, 44–45; *Orenburgskoe Gubernskoe Zemskoe Sobranie, Tret'ia ocherednaia sessiia, Doklady po narodnomu obrazovaniiu* (Orenburg, 1916), pp. 119, 121–126, 190–226.

72 Dowler, *Classroom and Empire*, p. 220. Bishop of Ufa and Menzelinsk counties Andrei criticized Education Minister Kasso for ignoring religious education. He also condemned the Menzelinsk zemstvo for investing not in church-parish schools, but in maktabs and madrasas. This county zemstvo appropriated 14,700 roubles for maktabs and madrasas in its budget of 1915. Episkop Andrei, *Mneniia ufimskikh zemtsev o tserkovnykh delakh* (Ufa, 1915), pp. 32–33, 48–49. On this bishop, see E. I. Larina, "Episkop Andrei i doktrina Ministerstva vnutrennikh del Rossiiskoi imperii v 'musul'manskom voprose'," *Sbornik Russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 7 (Moscow, 2003), pp. 212–225.

73 As an analogy, the law of June 13, 1884 on church-parish schools had also served as a "counterbalance" against zemstvo schools. Abramov, "Zemstvo, narodnoe obrazovanie," pp. 46, 48.

and secular schools to Muslim schools. The Special Conference on the Muslim question, which was convened in 1910 at the initiative of the Interior Ministry, resolved that maktabs' program be strictly confined to religious subjects.[74] As long as the school policy went on accordingly, Muslims were forced to cling to parallelism, with new-method maktabs left as private schools alongside the state ones. However, when the Ufa and Orenburg zemstvos showed their positive commitment to new-method maktabs, negotiation started between the zemtsy and Muslims to seek the possibility of these maktabs' entrance to a universal school network and "a third type" of Muslim school, neither existing maktabs nor schools.

Maktab or School?

The law of May 3, 1908 and following expenditures of the MNP and zemstvos towards universal primary education compelled the Muslim intellectuals and muallims to answer a question about the coexistence of Russian citizenship (*Rūsīya ghrāzhdānlighī*[75]) and nationality (*millīyat*). On one hand, the introduction of uniform schools would relieve the mahalla people of all burdens of maktabs. The state schools would provide Muslim children with Russian and other indispensable knowledge for civic life. On the other hand, the intellectuals strove to find a way of guaranteeing the mother tongue and Islam in the curriculum. Otherwise, they would lose their roles in the "national" education in the future. Some expected maktabs' entrance into the school network, and others suggested making schools live up to national spirit (*millī rūḥ*). The course of the "Maktab or School" debate depended on local conditions, in which the dialog with zemstvos took place.

A spark rose in 1913 on the pages of a Kazan journal *Maktab*, which represented the opinions of the "secular" intellectuals (*ḍiyālīlar*) in general and muallims in particular. By the word "nation (*millat*)," almost all the contributors meant the Tatars. The first orator was Fuad Tuktarov,

74 Robert P. Geraci, *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), pp. 285–295.

75 In this case "Russian" means "rossiiskii."

who had finished the Tatar Teachers' School in Kazan and then had become one of the leaders of a socialist circle, *Ṭāngchīlar*, during the 1905 Revolution. He posed a question, what would be the state of the relationship between state schools and maktabs after the spread of the schools in every Tatar village and "universalization (*'umūmlāshdirū*)" of primary education? He spoke for parallelism: despite the persecution of new-method maktabs, the government did not launch attacks against being Tatars and Muslims (*Tātārliq wa muslimānliq*); the government should stop the pursuit of maktabs and madrasas, "historical institutions which had served as sources of religious and national spirit."[76]

Tuktarov saw a way for maktabs' survival in a bill on private schools that the State Council passed on May 21, 1913. According to the law, decisions regarding the language of education should be entrusted to each private school with the proviso that Russian language, literature, history and geography should be taught in Russian. However, with regard to schools established and supported by the local self-government, all subjects except religion and the native language should be taught in Russian; for Russian language lessons, explanation in the native language would be permitted only in the first year. Tuktarov insisted that maktabs be considered as private schools, because they did not receive support either from the state or the local self-government.[77]

In order to secure the funds for reforming new-method maktabs, he warned that unnecessary subdivision of mahalla be stopped. He pointed out that conflicts over the redistribution of mahalla capital between mullahs and muallims prevented maktabs' development. To be sure, he paid an attention to the fact that Ufa zemstvos subsidized maktabs according to Muslims' petitions. However, he claimed that the small presence of Tatars among zemtsy limited people's reliance on zemstvos.[78]

A contrary argument was sent to the Kazan journal from Tomsk, where the massive Russian immigration had driven the Muslims into a miserable economic situation.[79] A muallim Ibrāhīm Bīkqūluf pointed out that new-method maktabs in Siberia were now ready to yield their

76 *Maktab* 2 (1913), pp. 57–60; 5 (1913), pp. 121–123.
77 *Maktab* 6 (1913), pp. 145–149.
78 *Maktab* 1 (1913), pp. 30–32.
79 Dudoignon, "Un islam périphérique?" p. 329.

position to Russian-Muslim schools which corresponded much more to the needs of everyday life. Hinting at a criticism against such an idea as "maktabs as sources of religious and national spirit," he claimed that Jadid reform had already lost its meaning to adapt maktabs to real life (*ṭūrmush*), because it had sacrificed this purpose simply for the benefit of religion (*dīn*). Hoping that the introduction of the zemstvo system to Siberia would reinforce the construction of schools, he expected the Muslims to implant "national spirit" in zemstvo schools.[80] In Tomsk the question of public investment in the Muslims' modernized education system was tied to the destiny of the City Duma. Therefore, the municipal elections called forth Muslims' great interest. Moreover, educational and cultural activities of the City Duma and Russian regionalists and Narodniks since 1880 had provided the Muslims with the model of mobilization of communal resources.[81] Hence, Bīkqūluf could even boast that Siberian Muslims' "higher level of life" enabled them to notice a crisis of Jadid schools earlier than Muslims in Inner Russia.

Such an opinion, of course, caused fierce resonance from Kazan Tatars.[82] However, defending new-method maktabs, they could only call for people's consciousness and love of nation, thereby expecting intensification of private support and subsidies from Muslim charitable societies (*jam'īyat-i khairīya*).[83] Kazan Tatars' adherence to parallelism may be explained by the failure in the negotiation with the local zemstvo. In January 1911, the Kazan county executive board invited Tatar representatives "to relax the distrust of Russian-Tatar schools." In marked contrast to the Ufa conference in that year, the Kazan zemtsy tried to observe strictly the principle of the 1907 Regulations on non-Russian education; the schooling language should be the mother tongue in the first two years and then switch to Russian in the next two years. The zemtsy and Muslim delegates could only agree on the propagation of the

80 *Maktab* 3 (1913), pp. 90–92.

81 Dudoignon, "Un islam périphérique?" pp. 320–322, 333–335.

82 *Maktab* 8 (1913), pp. 192–197; 10 (1913), pp. 237–242; 11 (1913), pp. 283–284.

83 It was disputable among Muslims whether the charitable societies were eligible to collect and administer Islamic income tax (*zakāt*). Dudoignon, "Status, Strategies and Discourses," esp. pp. 51–54; Z. Minnullin, "Blagotvoritel'nye obshchestva i problema zakiata u tatar (konets XIX – nach. XX vv.)," in *Tatarskie musul'manskie prikhody v Rossiiskoi imperii* (Kazan, 2006), pp. 30–41.

necessity of Russian-Tatar schools to the "fanatic" Muslim population.[84]

In Orenburg province, where zemstvos had been introduced only recently, ambivalent opinions first appeared on the pages of an Orenburg journal *Mu'allim*. Nūr'alī Nādiyīf proposed a new type of private or zemstvo school, where the Muslims themselves could participate in the management. He claimed that the lack of finance and the inadaptability to the demands of epoch would not make new-method maktabs competitors of the schools "in this world where the stronger prey upon the weaker." In order to change schools into ones corresponding to Muslims' interests, he suggested that courses be established for muallims to be trained as school teachers (*uchitel'*s) and for school teachers to study the mother tongue and Islam, that Muslims as well as zemstvos support the life of school teachers of the mother tongue and religion, and that Muslims as members of the trustees' council of schools participate in school supervision.[85]

On one hand, the editor of *M'allim* also admitted that people were choosing schools so that their children study Russian. On the other hand, he was afraid that it would be impossible to protect the national language and spirit in these schools where the instruction in the mother tongue was permitted only for the first two years. He insisted that maktabs remain as private schools under MNP jurisdiction with the introduction of Russian language classes according to the state program of universal compulsory education (*'umūmī majbūrī ūqū*).[86] However, he was silent on how to secure the funds.

In *Waqt* the "Maktab or School" debate reflected the different roles of the intellectuals (*ḍiyālīlar*) and the clergy (*rūḥānīlar*) in the Muslim community. Reviewing arguments in journals *Maktab* and *Mu'allim*, Jamāl al-Dīn Walīdī, a muallim of a famous new-method madrasa *Ḥusainīya* in Orenburg, spoke for development of new-method maktabs. As he argued in his brochure about the concept of nation, Walīdī saw an awakening of the Tatars' "national" identity in the emergence of Jadid

84 Ia. D. Koblov, *Konfessional'nye shkoly kazanskikh tatar* (Kazan, 1916), pp. 76–79. Kazan Tatars often compared the Kazan zemstvos' results with the Ufa ones' success. *Qūyāsh*, March 2, 1914, p. 1; *Yūlduz*, March 14, 1914, pp. 1–2.

85 *Mu'allim* 4 (1913), pp. 50–52.

86 *Mu'allim* 5 (1914), pp. 66–68.

schools: it was the Jadid movement that "brought Tatars into national history."[87] To be sure, he admitted that efforts at transformation of schools according to national interests were a "national duty," and that Muslims as Russian citizens had to enjoy universal education. However, he insisted that a "subjugated" nation engage in intellectual and cultural progress by "their own national power." As a solution he suggested increasing the number of Muslim charitable societies.[88]

While Walīdī, as a secular intellectual, believed in the new-method maktabs' mission as sources of national spirit, a local religious head (*ākhūnd*) of Kungur in Perm province Zāhid Allāh 'Ibād Allāh found the clergy's role in confessional education of the middle maktab (*rushdī*), predicting the replacement of primary maktabs (*ibtidā'ī*) with schools. In fact, Russian-Tatar schools in Kungur county attracted more pupils than in any other.[89] The akhund also noticed that maktab pupils were moving toward schools. He said that the obligation of learning Russian in primary education would deprive primary maktabs of their activity. He suggested to the readers efforts to place muallims in schools for the protection of Islam and the mother tongue. He hoped that if two years of additional study of religion were permitted in these schools, it would meet the desire of those who wanted to study Islam intensively.[90] Thus, while the secular intellectuals tried to maintain their roles in the "national" education by using "national" rhetoric, religious leaders more soberly identified their roles in the future education system.

Two articles from an Ufa newspaper *Ṭūrmush* demonstrate a tactical double standard of Ufa Muslim intellectuals. Both authors of the articles had attended the conference convened at the initiative of the Ufa provincial zemstvo in 1911. In the negotiation with the zemtsy, they eagerly participated in elaborating a new type of school, even indicating the disappearance of maktabs in the future. But in the Muslim paper, they insisted on continuing the existence of maktabs, emphasizing their role in nursing "national spirit."

Selimgirei Dzhantiurin, deputy of the first State Duma who had

87 Jamāl al-Dīn Walīdī, *Millat wa Milliyat* (Orenburg, 1914), pp. 28–29.
88 *Waqt*, February 18, 1914, pp. 2–3.
89 *Zhurnaly zasedanii s"ezda*, pp. 310–311.
90 *Waqt*, August 6, 1914, p. 1.

graduated from the Orenburg Gymnasium and Moscow University, spoke for the maktabs' inclusion in the universal school network. Criticizing Kungur akhund 'Ibād Allāh, he claimed that while maktabs contributed to inculcating children with the love of nation, schools were now under the command of the MNP officers alien to "national spirit and needs." He recognized the fact that maktabs were deprived of support from the Treasury and zemstvos because maktabs were "confessional." However, he stressed that nothing prevented maktabs' education program from approaching that of schools. As proof he referred to the mufti's private conference in December 1913, where invited scholars (*'ulamā'*) concluded that religious and general secular subjects were compatible.[91] He thought that the disappearance of differences between maktabs and schools would make maktabs eligible for entrance into school network.[92]

In negotiating with the zemtsy in 1911, Sharafutdin Makhmudov, deputy of the third State Duma from Sterlitamak, even predicted the whole replacement of maktabs with new zemstvo schools.[93] However, in the pages of *Ṭūrmush*, he stuck to parallelism. He complained to the Kungur akhund that middle maktabs could not exist without primary maktabs, because a primary maktab was a "mother" of a middle maktab. Makhmudov doubted if those who were now studying in the state schools would be able to teach the mother tongue and Islam in the future: state schools, aiming at merging peoples in Russia into one, could not consistently cultivate national spirit. Mentioning the lack of legal grounds for subsidies of the local self-government, he stressed the necessity to support "national educational institutions" by Muslims themselves.[94] Makhmudov's opinion may be explained by the location of

91 *Akt chastnogo soveshchaniia dukhovnykh lits okruga Orenburgskogo Magometanskogo Dukhovnogo Sobraniia na 14 i 15 dekabria 1913 goda* (Ufa, 1914). This brochure comprises Russian and Turkic versions. In 1915 the section of non-Russian education within the Orenburg provincial zemstvo distributed 300 copies of this brochure mainly to zemstvo libraries for Muslims. The section expected this brochure to eradicate from Muslims "a deep fanaticism" which confined maktabs and madrasas to an exclusively confessional character. *Doklady Orenburgskoi Gubernskoi Zemskoi Upravy*, pp. 9–10.

92 *Ṭūrmush*, August 24, 1914, pp. 2–3.

93 *Zhurnaly soveshchaniia*, p. 45.

94 *Ṭūrmush*, October 26, 1914, p. 2.

Sterlitamak as one of the historical centres of Islamic studies, where he himself had worked as a muallim. There religious institutions could rely on good profits from pious endowments (*waqf*). Makhmudov committed himself to the management of waqf in the first mahalla of the town.[95]

The atmosphere of the "Maktab or School" debate changed after the Orenburg zemstvos undertook to subsidize maktabs.[96] Arguments in *Waqt* began to focus on how to reorganize existing maktabs and zemstvo schools by collaborating with zemstvos. In April 1915, when a conference on education was convened in the Orenburg provincial zemstvo board, Ibrahim Bikchentaev expected maktabs' inclusion in the school network to be feasible. Referring to the "Maktab or School" debate, he stressed that maktabs could develop into normally organized schools, just as Russian schools had developed. However, the zemtsy took for granted the replacement of maktabs with zemstvo schools. They only agreed on temporary subsidies to maktabs until the accomplishment of the school network. Then Bikchentaev presented a four-year education program for maktabs as a condition for receipt of the subsidies, which was approved by the provincial assembly in that year.[97]

An imam of the first mahalla in Qārghālī near Orenburg, Khair Allāh al-'Uthmānī named his article "a solution to the 'Maktab or School' question." In order to provide children with decent knowledge of Russian, he suggested that maktabs receive zemstvo subsidies by their acceptance of Bikchentaev's education program. The imam admitted the necessity of maktabs' inclusion in the school network. Like akhund 'Ibād Allāh, the imam also thought that the Muslim community itself should support middle (*rushdī*) and preparatory (*i'dādī*) courses for higher religious education of madrasa.[98]

It is worthwhile examining the content of Islamic education in Bik-

95 *Waqt*, August 31, 1916, p. 4.

96 It may be safe to add that P. I. Ignat'ev's succession as Education Minister after L. A. Kasso's death in November 1914 also affected zemstvo operations. Ignat'ev enjoyed popularity among liberals. Abramov, "Zemstvo, narodnoe obrazovanie," p. 49; Seregny, "Zemstvos, Peasants, and Citizenship," p. 297.

97 *Zhurnaly I i II soveshchanii*, pp. 36–37, 41–47. By the end of 1915 not only zemstvos in Orenburg province but Birsk and Zlatoust county zemstvos in Ufa province adopted Bikchentaev's program. *Doklady Orenburgskoi Gubernskoi Zemskoi Upravy*, p. 4.

98 *Waqt*, June 28, 1915, p. 1.

chentaev's program. To satisfy the Orenburg zemstvo's requirement of Russian language and other general subjects Bikchentaev was forced to decide what elements of Islamic knowledge to leave for future maktabs. Detecting the same act of selection in the education program of Jadids in Central Asia, Khalid called it "desacralization" of some sorts of Islamic knowledge. Thereby the new elites challenged the authority of the old.[99] In Bikchentaev's case it was his negotiation with the Orenburg zemstvo that molded the definition of Islamic knowledge.

Many constituents were common between Central Asian Jadids' curriculum and Bikchentaev's: art of reciting Qur'ān (*tajwīd*), ethics (*akhlāq*) and holy history (*ta'rīkh-i muqaddas*). As Khalid argues, implicit in Bikchentaev's as well as Central Asians' programs was the notion that "real knowledge" lay in the scriptural sources of Islam. According to Bikchentaev, study of Qur'ān had to continue throughout the four-year schooling. Pupils of the first grade should learn the meaning of the unity of God (*tawḥīd*) and profession of faith (*shahāda*). The second grade required knowledge of the Six Beliefs of Islam (*īmān-i tafṣīlī*) and the way of prayers. In the third grade pupils had to go through all rules of the five pillars of Islam. The fourth grade gave them knowledge on oaths, marriage, divorce, lease, division of estate, alms, etc. from the books of shari'a.[100]

When the Ufa and Orenburg provincial zemstvos planned a joint regional conference on Muslim education in autumn 1916,[101] *Waqt* devoted its pages to readers' suggestions to the conference. One of muallims from Troitsk, 'Abd Allāh 'Azīz said that Muslims in the town had tried to make a common education program of maktabs after the 1905 Revolution, but that they had failed to fulfill it effectively due to the absence of an overseeing organization. The muallim proposed that maktabs be transformed in order to live up to "national needs and interests" under the zemstvo supervision. He formulated the cause of the reformed maktabs: "our children as subjects of great Russia and as free citizens of the great Russian state shall love Russia, . . . Still, as children of the great Muslim nation [*Muslimān millatī*] living in Russia they shall be inspired

99 Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, pp. 168–169, 172–175.

100 *Zhurnaly I i II soveshchanii*, pp. 115–119.

101 *Doklady Orenburgskoi Gubernskoi Zemskoi Upravy*, p. 67; *Waqt*, January 23, 1916, p. 1.

by national spirit."

'Abd Allāh 'Azīz showed a program that muallims in Troitsk had elaborated in 1915. In contrast to standardized four-year schools, maktabs planned to have a six-year system. According to the program, the entire six-year education should be carried out in the mother tongue; arithmetic and natural science should be taught besides Islam and the mother tongue; and Russian learning should start from the fourth year. Some muallims paid attention to the idea of making primary maktabs into preparatory institutions for the state middle schools. However, 'Azīz disagreed with them, arguing that such an institution could not have more than five years of schooling, and that it would sacrifice national education (*millī tarbiya*) for Russian learning. He suggested taking into account the majority of peasants whose education usually ended in primary maktabs.[102]

Both Ufa and Orenburg chiefs of non-Russian education within the zemstvo executive boards agreed on elaborating "a third type" of Muslim school. The Ufa chief Gumer Telegulov, who had finished the Tatar Teachers' School in Kazan and was appointed to the post in 1913, claimed that the regulations of non-Russian education since 1870 had dealt with the non-Russians not as independently developing peoples but as objects of Russification. He also recognized inadequacy in maktabs' transformation into primary schools, despite Jadids' efforts since the 1880s. As a result maktab pupils had to go to schools to learn Russian language. Telegulov thought a single well-organized primary school to be feasible if education authorities organized a new school in tune with "Muslims' interests and spirit."[103]

In April 1916 Bikchentaev posed nine questions on an ideal third type of Muslim school in *Waqt*.[104] Answers came from muallims:[105] the new Muslim school should have six years of schooling; instruction for the first three years should be done in the mother tongue; Russian learning should start from the fourth year, and the volume of Russian knowledge should be as much as in standardized four-year primary schools; and in

102 *Waqt*, February 6, 1916, p. 1; March 2, 1916, pp. 2–3.
103 *Biulleten' otdela narodnogo obrazovaniia* 2 (1916), pp. 73–79.
104 *Waqt*, April 8, 1916, pp. 1–2.
105 *Waqt*, May 3, 1916, p. 2; June 3, 1916, p. 3; June 8, 1916, p. 2.

the fifth and sixth years, lectures in arithmetic and Russian geography and history should be read in Russian. The mother tongue as a subject should continue throughout the last three years and other subjects should be taught in the mother tongue. One contributor even proposed that Arabic, an important constituent of "national literature" be included two hours a week in the sixth year.

As far as the pedagogic and economic management was concerned, few spoke for the new schools' subordination either to the Spiritual Assembly or the existing inspection of the Ministry of Education and school boards, *uchilishchnye sovety*. One contributor suggested that trustees' councils be organized as mediators with the local self-government and school boards, and anther proposed that a commission consisting of trustees, muallims, teachers from schools and imams of mahallas be placed within zemstvos so that the executive boards could carry out the commission's decisions.

Taking these opinions into consideration, Bikchentaev presented a report to a provincial conference on education in the summer. Based on the report, the conference resolved that the new six-year Muslim schools should enter the school network and should be supported by the Treasury and the local self-government; that Muslims themselves should manage both economic and pedagogic spheres of the schools; and that all existing ministry and zemstvo schools for Muslims should be gradually transformed into the planned six-year schools.[106]

Muallims' agreement with zemstvos on cooperative supervision of the new schools reflected not only their changing attitude toward the local self-government, but also their understanding of "nation" itself. Muslim intellectuals had usually persisted in observation of maktabs and madrasas by the Spiritual Assembly, seeing it as the sole representative body of "national" interest.[107] However, Muslim intellectuals' negotiation with zemstvos gave the intellectuals an opportunity to reconsider such "isolated" tactics as parallelism and egalitarianism in defending "national

106 *Doklady Orenburgskoi Gubernskoi Zemskoi Upravy*, pp. 67–68.

107 For example, see a bill on the reform of the Muslim administration, which was elaborated in 1914 by the Muslim representatives including the deputies of the State Duma. *Proekt polozheniia ob upravlenii dukhovnymi delami Musul'man Rossiiskoi imperii* (St. Petersburg, 1914), p. 17.

spirit" and to redefine what was "Islamic" and "national."

Conclusion

The introduction of universal primary education motivated both the government and the Volga-Ural Muslims to identify the cause of "Russian citizenship." While the 1905 Revolution compelled the government to put its priority on making loyal citizens, the revolution served as an event to make Muslims look into their conventional relationship with the state, and thereby commence reorganization of their community through negotiation with state. However, the strategy was distinct between the intelligentsia and common people of mahalla. The young intellectuals elaborated on various projects to mobilize people to their imagined community (*millat*) and simultaneously tried to reconcile it with Russian (*rossiiskaia*) citizenship. However, their rhetoric of egalitarianism and parallelism with the Russian (*russkie*) institutions often made the government suspicious of their political disloyalty and diminished their range of negotiation with zemstvos. As "Maktab or School" debate suggested, while "secular" intellectuals tried not to lose their leverage for "national" primary education, religious leaders of mahalla realistically accepted their possible withdrawal from primary education. Parishioners in their turn developed communal politics, where the state institutions also joined with their own intentions: people wanted to invite zemstvo schools which would facilitate the mahalla management, and they could maintain the Islamic order with the help of the security police, although their interests conflicted with each other. The mahalla life constituted a unique "public space," quite contrary to the intellectuals' "closed" national discourse.

Traditional controversy over the nature of Russification before 1905 had been what should define the "Russianness," the acquisition of the Russian language or the assimilation of Russian Orthodox spiritual culture.[108] While Il'minskii aimed at inculcation of Christian spirit through native languages, the Education Ministry put its accent on learning the Russian language in the regulation of non-Russians' education of 1870,

108 Dowler, *Classroom and Empire*, p. 161.

categorizing peoples according to their degree of "Russification." The regulations obliged Muslims to study Russian either in state schools or in Russian language classes within maktabs and madrasas. The government instituted a varied and hybrid path toward "Russification."

However, the emergence of European-oriented non-Russian intellectuals as a result of "Russification" policy made many Russifiers choose stricter linguistic and political measures as compensation. It seemed to them that religion's time as an effective tool of imperial integration had passed decisively after the manifestation of religious tolerance in 1905.[109] The government tried to give state schools the exclusive prerogative to cultivate "Russian citizenship," rejecting Muslims' own efforts to reform maktabs and even abandoning Russian language classes within maktabs and madrasas. As a result the MNP officials found themselves alienating the Muslims from "citizenship" and forcing them to defend their "isolated" parallelism.

The Ufa zemstvos recognized maktabs' potentials in enlightenment of Muslims and retrieved maktabs from the alienation of the state policy. True, the MNP and the Ufa provincial zemstvo could share a common principle of secularization in schooling. But the fact that the Ufa zemtsy saw the native languages as means of enlightenment revealed fierce competition between the zemstvos and the ministry over the cause of non-Russian primary education. The local MNP officials assumed that predominance of the state expenditure on primary schools could overcome the discrepancy. However, the Ufa zemtsy could successfully cooperate with the Muslim intellectuals on the common project of enlightenment and hold their authority among the Muslim population both inside and outside the province.

The "Maktab or School" polemic reflected the trace of the collaboration between Muslim intellectuals and zemtsy. During World War I, which dramatically boosted people's interest in war information, thereby in education in general, two models of Muslim schooling were being created in the southern Urals: some Muslims and zemtsy argued that inclusion of new-method maktabs in the school network would be feasible if they accepted the education programs the Ufa and Orenburg

109 Geraci, *Window on the East*, p. 255.

zemstvos recommended, and others tried to produce plans of a new Muslim school. In both cases, negotiable points were the proportions of the mother tongue and Russian, between religious and secular subjects, and the degree to which Muslims and zemtsy would participate in supervision of schools and maktabs. It was this process that made Muslims articulate anew the definition of "Islamic" and "national." Here we can see the concrete efforts of Muslims and zemtsy to find a new way of reconciliation between Russian citizenship and nationality.

4

Margaret DIKOVITSKAYA

Central Asia in Early Photographs: Russian Colonial Attitudes and Visual Culture

> Histories are not backdrops to set off the performance of images. They are scored into the paltry paper signs, in what they do, in what they encompass and exclude, in the ways they open on to or resist a repertoire of uses in which they can be meaningful and productive. Photographs are never "evidence" of history; they are themselves the historical . . . . And the ways in which photography has been historically implicated in the technology of power-knowledge, of which the procedures of evidence are part, must themselves be the object of study. (John Tagg[1])

Fourteen years after John Tagg published his seminal book *The Burden of Representation*, Paul S. Landau wrote in *Images and Empires:* "Photography affected the practices and institutions that composed empires because of its imagery. Yet historians have hardly begun to consider the practical involvement of visual images in the structures of power that composed imperialism. How should they do so?"[2] Landau proposed to

1 John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), p. 65.

2 Paul S. Landau, "Empires of the Visual: Photography and Colonial Administration in Africa," in Paul S. Landau and Deborah D. Kaspin, eds., *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 149.

begin by studying the circulation of images. My goal in this paper is to examine the context of production and reception of the image of the racial/ethnic "Other" that was created by visual means in the Russian Empire at the dawn of the twentieth century. Specifically, how did the photographic image shape, affect, and ultimately reveal Russian colonial attitudes after the imperial conquest of Central Asia?

I agree with the historian John Armstrong who posited that "the primary characteristic of ethnic boundaries is attitudinal. In their origins and in most fundamental effects, ethnic boundary mechanisms exist in the minds of their subjects rather than as lines on a map or norms in a rule book."[3] For the purposes of this paper, *attitude* is understood as both "a mental position with regard to a fact or state" (also "a feeling or emotion toward a fact or state") and "a negative or hostile state of mind, an arrogant manner."[4] The advent of photography as a professional venture and the unprecedented development of new technology leading to a mass consumption of photographs coincided chronologically with the end of the century during which basic attitudes toward the nationalities in the Russian Empire were formed. I am interested in tracing the formation of the racist "natural attitude" toward non-Russians as well as the "knowledge" concerning them postulated by mass culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and I use historic photographs of Central Asia to challenge the assumption of the muteness and relative mildness of Russian Orientalism. Contrary to what some students of Russian history[5] would have us believe, I argue that Russian colonialist discourse was not marked by a lesser degree of ethnic and racial prejudice than that of other European states. The echo of the cultural workings of these attitudes—feelings, emotions, or mental positions with re-

3 John A. Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982), pp. 7–8.

4 *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 10th ed. (Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster), p. 74.

5 Violet Conolly, "The 'Nationalities Question' in the Last Phase of Tsardom," in Erwin Oberlander et al., eds., *Russia Enters the Twentieth Century, 1894–1917* (London: Methuen, 1971), p. 154; Hugh Seton-Watson, *The Russian Empire, 1801–1917* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 267; Emanuel Sarkisyanz, "Russian Imperialism Reconsidered," in Taras Hunczak, ed., *Russian Imperialism from Ivan the Great to the Revolution* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2000), p. 73.

gard to peoples of different stock, or *inorodtsy*—can be heard in the post-Soviet space today **[Ill. 1]**.[6]

I employ the methodology of visual studies, a new field for the study of the cultural construction of the visual in arts, media, and everyday life that regards "the visual image as the focal point in the processes through which meaning is made in a cultural context."[7] From the viewpoint of visual studies, the history of photography is neither a history of art, nor a history of science. Instead of viewing photography as being developed in an aesthetic vacuum or solely linked to its technological advancements, visual studies holds that "the indexical nature of the photograph—the causative link between the pre-photographic referent and the sign—is highly complex, irreversible, and can guarantee nothing at the level of meaning. . . . Like the state, the camera is never neutral. The representations it produces are highly coded."[8] The photograph is a mediated view of the object placed before the lens.[9] Although photography was valued for its realism and objectivity by positivists in the nineteenth

6 Having conducted some 2,850 interviews in 2002, Vyacheslav Karpov, a professor of sociology at Western Michigan University and the principal investigator of the National Council for East European and Eurasian Research project *Religious Intolerance among Orthodox Christians and Muslims in Russia,* came to the following conclusion: "While negative perceptions of Islam are common among Russians, they are only indirectly and remotely linked to religiosity, and directly—to intolerant political and ethnic attitudes" (Vyacheslav Karpov, "Orthodoxy, Religious Ethnocentrism and Intolerance in Russia," paper presented at the Annual World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2005, p. 6). Karpov, who works within the framework of social scientific research, explores the phenomenon of Russian religious ethnocentrism, that is, a belief system that rigidly links a group's *ethnic* identity to its dominant religion and views other religions as ethnically alien and potentially threatening to the group's identity and well-being. This empirical study is an important breakthrough because it departs from an opinion commonly held in the West that finds the intrinsic roots of intolerance in the theology of Orthodoxy itself (on this account, Orthodoxy is incompatible with western pluralism) and ignores the ethnic realities and aspirations at the level of everyday mass culture.

7 Margaret Dikovitskaya, *Visual Culture: The Study of the Visual after the Cultural Turn* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2005), p. 1.

8 Tagg, *The Burden of Representation*, pp. 63–64.

9 In all visual arts, even so called "neutral" characteristics, such as rendering objects in pictorial or photographic space (in fore- or background) and perspective (in European painting, the linear perspective discovered by Leonardo da Vinci, which grants the viewer a privileged, dominant position) affect the overall meaning.

century—the Russian photographer Sergei Prokudin-Gorskii even went so far as to call the human eye "a nature-given camera"—it is not a transparent medium but an artifact capable of determining or changing the way one sees its content. The camera's dual capacity to record actuality as well as to deceive the eye made it an ideal apparatus for the representation of the ethnic "Other."

In my research, I found useful a concept of "place-myth" formulated by the sociologist Rob Shields in his book *Places on the Margin*.[10] Place-myths are conglomerates of place-images, that is, stereotypes and clichés associated with particular locations, used in a society. Place-myths need not necessarily be in concordance with the veracity of a location; their power and influence are due to their reiteration and widespread dissemination. I argue that the Central Asia of the nineteenth-century Russian visual culture is such a place-myth, and the early photographs give us a possibility to glance at how Russian colonial attitudes took effect. I can say with Roland Barthes that "I resented seeing Nature and History confused at every turn, and I wanted to track down, in the decorative display of *what-goes-without-saying*, the [hidden] ideological abuse,"[11] which becomes transparent in the process of the reading of early photographs (emphasis added).

Historical Backdrop

On July 13, 1867, Tsar Alexander II issued the Decree on Creation of the Turkestan Military District,[12] to which parts of the Emirate of Bukhara (with Samarkand) and of the Khanate of Khiva were added later. The Secretary to the Cotton Committee of St. Petersburg Nikolai Mala-

10 Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1991).

11 Roland Barthes, preface to the 1972 edition, in *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972; originally published in 1957), p. 11.

12 See *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*, Sobranie 2-e (1830–1884), tom 42, chast' 1 (St. Petersburg, 1871), uk. 44844, str. 1156–1164. The decree established the Turkestan Military District, not the Turkestan province; however, the Statute on the Turkestan Military District attached to this Decree provided for granting to the Commanding Officer of the Turkestan Military District the status of Turkestan Governor-General.

howskii wrote about Turkestan in an English-language publication: "The area of Turkestan is equal to the combined areas of Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Holland and Denmark. The greater part of Russian Turkestan is desert, of which only 4 percent is under irrigation and suitable for purposes of agriculture. Part of the remaining 96 percent may be exploited for pasture land."[13] He continued, "the artificially irrigated part is so rich that Russian Turkestan is indubitably the most precious gem in the Czar's crown. The most valuable product of this country is cotton, which saves the Russian people many million rubles, because it precludes the necessity of importing American cotton."[14] In Turkestan, the Russian government would set up cotton plantations or give land to Russian migrants—landless settlers—who were told that this land was virgin, empty, awaited their arrival, and above all, needed to be in capable hands. The state-sponsored migration began shortly after the military district of Turkestan had been established. The Ignat'ev Commission of 1884 recommended peasant colonization of Turkestan as well as Steppe; famine caused the massive migration of population from Great Russia in 1891–1892. In the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century, there were 326 Russian villages with the peasant population numbering 248,500 in five districts,[15] and the process of migration of Russian population to Central Asia continued well into Soviet times. The superiority of Russian tillers who lacked previous experience with irrigation over the indigenous population, which had lived in this region for generations, was not questioned. This situation is familiar: Native Americans, Australian aboriginals, and Africans have also been the subjects of forced relocation, and those who were not physically eliminated in the first phase of conquest had to relocate and adjust their lifestyle, including means of production, during the second phase of white settlers' colonization.

13 Nikolai Malahowskii, *Russian Turkestan and Its Products* (St. Petersburg, 1910), p. 1.

14 Cotton was cultivated in the locals of Fergana, Samarkand, Syr-Darya, and Transcaspia.

15 V. I. Masal'skii, *Turkestanskii krai*, tom 19 of *Rossiia: Polnoe geograficheskoe opisanie nashego otechestva*, ed. V. P. Semenov-Tian-Shanskii (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 332–333.

Margaret DIKOVITSKAYA

Russian Colonial Photography in the Nineteenth Century: *Turkestan Album* and *Types of Nationalities of Central Asia*

With what indigenous image was the Russian public of both the metropole and the colony presented? In the second half of the nineteenth century, there were two major systematic attempts to capture daily life in Central Asia through photography: *Turkestanskii al'bom (Turkestan Album)*[16] prepared in 1871–1872, and a volume of photographs *Tipy narodnostei Srednei Azii (Types of Nationalities of Central Asia)*[17] presented to the Third International Congress of Orientalists in St. Petersburg in 1876. *Turkestanskii al'bom*, commissioned by Governor-General Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufman (1867–1882), was compiled by M. I. Brodovskii, N. V. Bogaevskii, a naturalist A. L. Kun, and a general M. A. Terent'ev. It featured images from the Zaravshan District, the city of Samarkand, and the Syr-Darya oblast. The album contained nearly 1,220 mounted photographs (gold-toned albumen prints) and consisted of six books covering four sections, or *chasti*: archaeology (two books), ethnography (two books), industry, and the recent military history. The preface, identical in all four sections, credits Kun with the selection of the photographs and Bogaevskii with most of the photographs in the archaeological volumes. Brodovskii worked with Kun on section 3 (industry). The fourth section (historical) was compiled by Terent'ev. Introductory pages were printed in St. Petersburg; headings and captions in sections 1, 2, and 4 were lithographed by the department of military topography (voennotopograficheskii otdel) of the Turkestan Military District and section 3 by A. Argamakov, both probably in Tashkent. Supplementary volumes of explanatory materials were originally planned but only one was completed.[18] According to *Istoricheskii Vestnik* (1899, vol. 76, p. 96), there were only six sets of the album produced, including a copy for Tsar

16 *Turkestanskii al'bom*, po rasporiazheniiu Turkestanskogo general-gubernatora General-ad"iutanta K. P. fon Kaufmana (Tashkent, 1871–1872).

17 Komitet po uchastiiu Turkestanskogo kraia na Tret'em Mezhdunarodnom kongresse orientalistov, *Tipy narodnostei Srednei Azii* (n.p., 1876).

18 M. I. Brodovskii, *Tekhnicheskie proizvodstva v Turkestanskom krae* (St. Petersburg, 1875).

Alexander II; one for his heir, Prince Alexander; one for the Academy of Sciences; one for the Russian Geographic Society; one for the newly founded Public Library in Tashkent, and one for the governor-general of Turkestan.[19]

It is interesting to note that the compilers chose to call the last section detailing a story of the occupation and featuring the victors **[Ill. 2]** "historical," in effect erasing the people of Central Asia's history *before* the invasion and replacing it with a history of the Russian conquest. Moreover, the first section (archaeology) introduced "the past life of the region in preserved ancient monuments," thus perpetuating the European myth of Asia as a land that had given birth to the world's first and finest civilizations but whose glory days were forever removed **[Ill. 3, 4, 5]**. The message conveyed by the album composition was that a historical void took place or, in other words, there were no events of historical significance between the time of Sogdiana and Bactria and the time of Tamerlane (Timur) and again between the early fifteenth century and the imperial conquest of the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus the album's composition provided a justification, in non-verbal form, as to how the Russian occupation should be seen as a magnanimous civilizing mission.

These events bear a striking similarity to a new strand of thought that appeared in the United Kingdom in the 1880s: the vision of the special role of the British to bring freedom and civilization to the world, with a sense of possession being replaced by a perceived obligation to help and develop their colonies. To the officials in St. Petersburg who closely observed the British advances in India and Afghanistan, the Russian acquisition of Central Asia was a victory in the undeclared war over colonies in Asia. However, this victory did not mean an end of the conflict. In the Introduction to *Problems of Greater Britain*, the influential Sir Charles Dilke wrote: "In the future conflict of rivalry between our own and the

19 Today, the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C., USA) owns one set of the *Turkestanskii al'bom,* which is believed to have come from the Turkestan Public Library that had almost been destroyed by von Kaufman's successor. The Library of Congress catalog mentions *seven* original sets, following the number given by Richard A. Pierce in *Russian Central Asia, 1867–1917: A Study in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), p. 317.

Great-Russian people, we have upon our side the advantages of combining in our race the best qualities of the foremost races of the old world, with the result that in our daughter-countries there are present courage, national integrity, steady good sense, and energy in work such as are perhaps unknown elsewhere."[20] The Russians had to respond to an idea of imperial unity, and the works of visual culture such as *Turkestanskii al'bom* helped them both to visualize the existent conditions in a remote colony and to realize a new obligation—"the white man's burden."

Heirs to the ancient culture, the current inhabitants of the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan were presented in the album's second, ethnographical, section devoted to "the contemporary life—patterns, beliefs, religious rites, customs, dwellings, dress, and views of the more populated surrounding districts" **[Ill. 6–8]** and the third section related to "the culture of the country in industry and technology" as exotic, odd species with primitive tools and methods of production **[Ill. 9, 10]**. This album served as both a visual "document" of the perceived backwardness of the indigenous people and a multi-volume invitation of sorts for the new overlords, to mobilize their forces and bring about change to this "decaying" region.

The compilers of *Turkestanskii al'bom* included images of the representatives of ethnic groups in Central Asia. However, their efforts were far superseded by the colonial scientists who in 1876 assembled the photographic volume *Tipy narodnostei Srednei Azii*. Twenty years before *Tipy narodnostei* was released in Russia, the French photographer Felix-Jacques-Antoine Moulin created a series of photographs *Province d'Alger* (1856–1857). It included images of indigenous chiefs, dancing women, Arab villages, French settlements, and also what he called "manners and costumes." In 1868–1875, the eight-volume colonial study *The People of India*, containing over 400 photographs and descriptions of every Indian group and caste was produced. Approximately at the same time as *Tipy narodnostei,* in 1873–1876, Carl and Frederick Dammann's portfolios *Ethnological Photographic Gallery of the Various Races of Man* were published. It is interesting to note that photography in service of science was indeed

20 Charles W. Dilke, *Problems of Greater Britain* (London, 1890), p. 3.

"the latest craze": in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress of Orientalists*—and the first one that took place in Russia (St. Petersburg, August 20–31, 1876)—we find an article "About archaeological value of the Photographical Album of Armenia by Mr. Kurgiants."[21] The Caucasus and Central Asia were given considerable attention at this congress.[22]

Tipy narodnostei Srednei Azii consisted of 85 pages filled with photographs of male and female inhabitants of Central Asian cities and towns. All images were taken in the studio of V. Kozlovskii in Tashkent. The Russian anthropologists and ethnographers used, in the spirit of the time, the style of the police "mug shot" **[Ill. 11, 12]**. The photographs featuring anonymous individuals were used to demonstrate Central Asians' "racial" differences (between, among others, Afghans, Dungans, Jews, Kalmyks, Kirgiz, Sarts, Tajiks, and Uzbeks) as perceived by the colonial authorities at that time. The Russians were not unique or alone in such an undertaking: Harry Johnston pursued the same goal with regard to the Africans twenty years later in *British Central Africa* (1897). Inevitably, questions—or even doubts—arise. How did the Russians recruit their sample among the population (validity of procedure)? What were the assumptions and criteria for choosing these particular people to represent the specific groups (accuracy of representation)? What was the process through which the specific—ethnic, "racial"—groups got defined in the first place (soundness of theory)?

These images tell us a story of how photography was involved in the invention of ethnic and racial "types." Based on his perception of peo-

21 K. P. Patkanov, "Ob arkheologicheskoi tsennosti fotograficheskogo al'boma Armenii raboty g. Kurgiantsa" in V. V. Grigor'ev, ed., *3 Mezhdunarodnyi s"ezd orientalistov: Trudy*, tom 1 (St. Peterburg, 1879), pp. 582–587.

22 Several articles dealing with the subject of the Caucasus and Central Asia appeared in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress of Orientalists*. See V. V. Grigor'ev, ed., *3 Mezhdunarodnyi s"ezd orientalistov: Trudy*, tom 1 (St. Petersburg, 1879) and vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1880): A. P. Berzhe, "Etnograficheskoe obozrenie Kavkaza" (tom 1, pp. 291–326); Patkanov, "Ob arkheologicheskoi tsennosti" (see above); M. N. Rostislavov, "Ocherk vidov zemel'noi sobstvennosti i pozemel'nyi vopros v Turkestanskom krae" (tom 1, pp. 327–359); N. Tcharykov, "Un voyage dans l'Ouzbekistan en 1671" (tom 1, pp. 595–604); H. G. Raverty, "On the Turks, Tattars and Mughales" (vol. 2, pp. 73–124); P. Lerch, "Sur les monnaies des Boukhar-Khoudahs ou princes de Boukhara avant la conquête du Maverennahr par les arabes" (vol. 2, pp. 418–432).

ples' appearances, the photographer portrayed some as representatives of specific groups (these groups were a result of earlier speculations by travelers, historians, and statesmen) onto which particular qualities were projected (e.g., "dirty Kirgiz," or "sneaky Sarts"). It was believed that the camera could document standardized traits, character, and behavior associated with these qualities. In reality, a number of deindividuated persons would stand in place of a population whose variety was reduced to the newly constructed "types." Today, we call such activity stereotyping. Then, it was a common practice, going hand-in-hand with, and feeding the developments in, sciences (anthropology, ethnography), medicine, and forensics. The further circulation of such photographs in the context of a colonial regime reinforced the notion of alien nature of the non-Russian subjects. One should not forget that the formulation of qualities that were being projected on the population was a *continuous* process of creating the "other" identity, correlated with the colonization itself, from the first encounter through a subjugation and domination and to response to resistance. Partakers in these processes, both photography and fine arts, through endorsing particular readings and attitudes while disabling others, were essential for shaping and redefining the colonial attitudes.

Central Asia in Color Photography of S. M. Prokudin-Gorskii (1909–1915)

Between 1909 and 1912 and then again in 1915, Sergei Mikhailovich Prokudin-Gorskii (1863–1944) made several trips and shot thousands of color pictures of agricultural scenes, industry, and daily life in eleven regions of the Russian Empire. About nineteen hundred sets of his glass negatives were acquired by the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) from the photographer's sons shortly after World War II.[23] There are

23 Prokudin-Gorskii left Russia in 1918, and only one-half of his plates survived. These negatives were sold to the Library of Congress by the sons of Prokudin-Gorskii in Paris four years after his death, in 1948. Among the works chosen for publication as part of the Russian Translation Project of the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) was Igor Grabar's multi-volume *History of Russian Art*. While such a book required numerous illus-

only a handful of publications on Prokudin-Gorskii photography (in Russian and English), and the tone of the existent ones is celebratory: the photographer is praised for being among the first to experiment with polychromy. I am most interested in returning "text," or Prokudin-Gorskii's works, to its original "context," that is, the history of conquest and colonization.

Prokudin-Gorskii was born to a noble family in St. Petersburg on August 31, 1863. He studied natural science, painting, and chemistry in St. Petersburg and completed his education in Germany where he worked for two years under the guidance of Adolf Miethe (1862–1927), professor at the Technische Hochschule in Berlin, who in 1902–1904 developed a process for color photography.[24] After his return from abroad, Prokudin-Gorskii joined the Division of "Light-Writing"—the name by which photography was then known in Russia—the fifth department of the Imperial Russian Technical Society, organized in the 1870s under the initiative of the chemist Dmitrii Mendeleev.

In 1898, Prokudin-Gorskii founded the first courses for practicing photographers in Russia. On December 13, 1902 he introduced the members of the Imperial Russian Technical Society to the new method of tri-color photography. According to Walter Frankhauser, Prokudin-Gorskii's custom-built camera was "something like the old Kodak retina

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trations, the ACLS did not have access to the original plates used by Grabar in Russia. A translator working on the Project, Princess Maria Poutiatine, knew about works by Prokudin-Gorskii that, as she believed, could be used for illustrations in art history books. Mr. W. Chapin Huntington of the ACLS asked Mr. Donald A. Lowrie, the representative of the Union Chretienne de Jeunes Gens in Paris, to locate the negatives. Lowrie facilitated a purchase by the Library of Congress of the three-color separation plates, accompanied by the set of small black and white contact prints made from the "red" negatives and pages of identifying captions (later translated by Huntington into English). In 2000, Lynn Brooks, director of the Digital Scan Center at the Library of Congress, and Walter Frankhauser, owner of Walter Studio Professional Photography in Lexington, Virginia were the first to obtain a single digital color image through the process of *digichromatography*. They produced the first 122 color images from glass negatives (see *Professional Photographer*, February 2002, p. 40). Today, the fully digitized collection can be viewed on the Library's web site [http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/empire (valid as of January 29, 2007)].

24 For its description see Adolf Miethe, *Dreifarbenphotographie nach der Natur: nach den am Photochemischen Laboratorium der Technischen Hochschule zu Berlin angewandten Methoden* (Halle a.S.: Wilhelm Knapp, 1904).

folding cameras": it had a bellows on the front and the front lens objective on a pull-out track.[25] Prokudin-Gorskii used interchangeable lenses, some made by Karl Zeiss. He worked with the Ilford red process (black and white) glass plates that he chemically modified to render panchromatic (e.g., sensitive to all colors throughout the spectrum). Prokudin-Gorskii would insert one long plate into a camera and rapidly make three separate shots of the same scene, one each through blue, red, and green supplementary filters. Each image registered the amount of that color present in the image. Then he would convert the glass plate negative containing three 3x3" monochrome images taken in succession into positive transparencies and project them in alignment, each through its corresponding color filter, using a three-light projection system of his own design. These images were superimposed on the wall to create a *transitory resulting image* that has received the name of "optical color projection." Note, however, that Prokudin-Gorskii did not work with the color-emulsion film per se. Also, he did not develop a method of converting these combined screen images into permanent color prints on paper.

In January of 1905, Prokudin-Gorskii showed seventy color transparencies—his works dating from the past three years—at the Imperial Russian Technical Society in St. Petersburg. The images of scenes from Finland, Dagestan **[Ill. 13]** and Transcaucasia received the most enthusiastic response from the audience.[26] In 1908, a demonstration of color transparencies accompanied an exhibition of Russian photography at the Academy of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg. During the presentation, Prokudin-Gorskii displayed images of several ancient buildings and their architectural details from Turkestan that had disappeared in an earthquake shortly after being photographed. He also showed the image of an ancient vase from the Imperial Hermitage whose colors had begun to

25 Quoted in Joan T. Sherwood, "A Century in the Development," *PEI: Photo>Electronic Imaging,* September 2001, p. 39.

26 Fame came to Prokudin-Gorskii when he shot an anniversary portrait of 80 year-old Leo Tolstoy in his estate Yasnaya Polyana. This portrait was reproduced in color, polygraphically, in the August 1908 issue of the *Zapiski IRTO* (*Notes of the Imperial Russian Technical Society*) and, at the same time, in the journal *Fotograf Liubitel'* (*Amateur Photographer*) edited by Prokudin-Gorskii.

fade. He deemed "leaving a precise document for the future"[27] one of the important goals of the method of tri-color photography that he had developed. Grand Duke Mikhail Alexandrovich Romanov happened to be in the audience that day. He approached the photographer and asked to acquaint him with the method of color photography from nature. On an invitation from Empress Maria Fedorovna that followed Prokudin-Gorskii showed his works to the royal family at their residence in Tsarskoe Selo on May 3, 1909. He chose to show the rural views, sunsets, snowy landscapes, pictures of peasant children, and flowers—the aesthetically "neutral" subjects. The show was a success, and Tsar Nicholas II asked Prokudin-Gorskii about his plans. The photographer outlined various possible applications of his work in a future and added, "Perhaps, it would be of interest to your Majesty to see from time to time *the real Russia and her great monuments*, as well as the colors of the diverse nature of our great Motherland"[28] (emphasis added). His proposition was warmly received, and the tsar ordered Prokudin-Gorskii to speak with Minister of Transportation S. V. Rukhlov who was to support the photographer in this endeavor. (Without special permission, neither foreigners nor Russian citizens could travel to remote places in Imperial Russia in the early twentieth century.) It was necessary for Rukhlov to equip Prokudin-Gorskii with a private railroad carriage—half living quarters and half darkroom—and a pass to allow this laboratory to be connected to any train in the empire, a steam boat with the crew, an automobile "Ford," and a motor boat.

In 1909, Prokudin-Gorskii began work on "The Collection of Points of Interest in Russia" and spent the first summer surveying the Mariinskii Waterway (the Volga-Baltic Canal, linking the upper Volga and Neva Rivers), sites of the activities of Peter I, the Central Ural, and the Volga River **[Ill. 14]**. The first display of the commissioned work took place at

27 *Katalog obraztsov tsvetnoi pechati (tipografskoi) khudozhestvennykh fototekhnicheskikh masterskikh S.M. Prokudina-Gorskogo* (St. Petersburg, 1911).

28 Diary of S.M. Prokudin-Gorskii, Personal archive of S.M. Prokudin-Gorskii (property of his grandson Michel Soussaline, Paris), quoted in Svetlana Garanina, "Delo Kantseliarii Soveta Ministrov o priobretenii v kaznu kollektsii fotograficheskikh snimkov dostoprimechatel'nostei Rossii S. M. Prokudina-Gorskogo, 1910–1912 gg.," in *Rossiiskii Arkhiv: Istoriia Otechestva v svidetel'stvakh i dokumentakh XVIII–XX vv.*, vypusk 9 (Moscow, 1999), p. 468.

the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg on March 20, 1910. Thereafter, Prokudin-Gorskii spent the summer months traveling and taking photographs across the empire, and in the fall presented the images first at the Ministry of Transportation and then at court. "The choice of subject was somewhat different for Tsar," recalled Prokudin-Gorskii in emigration, "special structures of the Ministry such as dams, excavations for railroad lines, and bridges of various types, could not interest the tsar as much as Russian antiquity, ancient monuments, and the beauty of nature."[29]

Prokudin-Gorskii made about four thousand sets of three-color separation plates, only one-half of which are known to us today. The photographic survey covered such geographically diverse regions as: 1) the area of the Mariinskii canal system; 2) Turkestan; 3) the Ural Mountains; 4) the Volga River basin; 5) Dagestan and Transcaucasia; 6) the historical area of the Napoleonic war (Smolensk, Belarus); 7) the area traversed by the Murmansk Railway under construction (it was a supply link between Russia and its allies during World War I); 8) the monuments commemorating the Romanovs' tercentenary; 9) Ukraine; and 10) Finland and Karelia (parts of the Russian Empire until December 1917; the Finnish region Karelia was ceded to the USSR after World War II). The subjects included the important religious and civic buildings, architectural details, murals, railroads, local industries, agricultural practices, topographical landscapes, ethnographic types, and panoramas of towns. Prokudin-Gorskii visited Turkestan twice: on January 1, 1907, when he observed a sun eclipse, and in 1911, with S. Maksimovich, another inventor and member of the Imperial Russian Technical Society.

When Prokudin-Gorskii began "compiling a systematic collection of photographic images, in natural colors, of the sights of interest in Russia" in 1909, he wanted to produce and make available some 10,000 images (!) that would "arouse love for the motherland, interest in studying its beauties and inexhaustible riches, without which it is unthinkable to teach truly patriotic feelings to the youth."[30] We find almost the same wording in an official document describing his activities. In a July 10, 1910 letter to Prime-Minister Petr Stolypin, Minister of Finances V. Kokovtsov stated that the main reason for this enterprise was for an "acqui-

29 Ibid.
30 Ibid., p. 473.

sition of materials for the study of the fatherland."[31] We see a remarkable unanimity between the attitude of a private citizen and the opinion of a Russian official, the latter not ordering but, rather, supporting the citizen.

Perusing the first issues of *Fotograf-Liubitel'*—the influential magazine founded in 1890 by Aleksandr Stepanovich Lavrov, a photographer, metallurgical expert, and by coincidence founder of Russia's steel cannon industry (also Prokudin-Gorskii's father-in-law)—I discovered an embryo of the program for Prokudin-Gorskii's undertaking. In an editorial written some nineteen years earlier and titled, "What is Modern Photography, an Amateur and a Professional?" there is the following passage:

> Russia provides so much material for an amateur photographer that the other European countries cannot. . . . Where else is there a country where the cold waves of the Arctic Ocean, under a sun that never sets, beat the granite rocks of the beaches of Murman where Lapps and Pomors work in their traditional costumes? Where else are there such forests as Belovezhskaia Pushcha with its buffalo or the natural forests of Pechora and Vologda, altogether different from those commonplace woods one sees when abroad, where human culture combined with a scarcity of land reproduce everything artificially, mutilating and disfiguring the nature itself? Are there in any other country the Ukrainian endless steppes, with their national character and clean wattle houses sheltered in the shade of poplar trees, with the herds of fat-tailed sheep and steppe horses, with melon fields behind corn fences? And how about Ukrainian women with their scampish black eyes that any Italian woman, long considered the ideal model for artists, would envy? Where else besides Russia is the Caucasus with its water falls, mountains, and canyons covered with rich vegetation and vineyards, not at all like those unattractive vineyards surrounding the muddy Rhine, with their sour grapes, bafflingly praised by local patriots? And our Volga River with its fleets of grain so coveted by our neighbors—the grain, piling our piers and railroads? Is there anywhere else such beautiful shores as the Crimea, washed by the greenish water of the Black Sea and covered by the thick southern lush, with Tatars on small and fast horses? Where else, apart from Russia, are so many historic monuments, not in the form of African noseless sphinxes or pyramids, but rather churches, fortresses, mounds, and even

31 Ibid., p. 473.

> groves planted by our great ancestors! Would not all the above, if any of the modern European countries possessed such, serve as material for such a photo exhibition, one that would attract as many people as the Eiffel Tower?[32]

This is a mixed message in which patriotism is coupled with nationalistic pride and xenophobia, and an interest in one's own history and culture coupled with a feeling of racial superiority. This attitude was present at the turn of the century, and even twenty years later a special Inter-Agency Commission Concerning the Acquisition of Prokudin-Gorskii's Photographic Collection by the State Treasury reached the following conclusion: "When our educational institutions, both elementary and secondary, have access to the pictures taken by Prokudin-Gorskii, we will have the *exemplary, true study of motherland [rodinovedenie]*, and this important and necessary undertaking will bring Russia an enviable, leading position among the civilized countries, especially valuable given the vast stretches and extreme heterogeneity of various parts of the Russian Empire"[33] (emphasis added). The emphasis is somewhat different—a concern with educating the common man—but the undertones are similar to Lavrov's. An ultimate goal of this state-sponsored photographic survey was to educate the public, and especially the schoolchildren, about the Empire—to pass down the knowledge acceptable to and approved by its central administration—by means of the color slide projections. It was estimated that the schools and general public would purchase some 20,000 copies of albums and charts; in addition, the regular slide demonstrations were to be organized at various venues. While the majority of the population in the regions where Prokudin-Gorskii took photographs—Ukraine, Belarus, Finland, the Volga River basin, the Ural Mountains, the Caucasus, and Central Asia—was not Russian, it is telling that Prokudin-Gorskii viewed his work as a "common Russian" thing.

Throughout his collection, the non-Russian subjects were identified by a more generalized reference to their ethnicities, racial backgrounds, confessions, and lifestyles. An exemplar caption reads "The Bashkirs,

32 A. S. Lavrov, "Chto takoe sovremennaia fotografiia, liubitel'skaia i khudozhestvennaia?" *Fotograf-Liubitel'* 1, no. 3 (1890), pp. 4–13.

33 Garanina, "Delo Kantseliarii Soveta Ministrov," p. 484.

one of the many non-Russian peoples of the Urals, gave up their nomadic life in favor of villages, such as this" (e.g., the "settler vs. nomad" issue is taken up). "How striking is the contrast between these dirty wanderers of the steppe and monks of the Holy Russia—the latter not only pray the right God but are in a special relationship with the land!" the average member in the audience may have exclaimed **[Ill. 15, 16]**. Russians were imagining the people of Central Asia as indolent and lazy (as if they did not produce but only sold goods and fruit, judging from the numerous pictures of sellers **[Ill. 17]**), backward **[Ill. 18]**, poorly educated (there only were religious schools, and there was a lack of modern education, even in Bukhara and Samarkand **[Ill. 19]**), superstitious, and in a need of correction **[Ill. 20]**. Prokudin-Gorskii helped create an image of the savage who had to be delivered from the vices of "medieval darkness" but whose capability to change and a readiness to embrace the civilized lifestyle had been severely impeded by the centuries of "despotism and tyranny" and was therefore questioned by Russians. In this manner, Prokudin-Gorskii's photographs of Central Asia wedded the study of motherland with a state-sponsored colonization and discrimination of indigenous population. His photography also served the reflexive function. The potential of the new visual technology as a publicity tool was tremendous. Anthropologists know that frequently groups define themselves not by reference to their own characteristics but by exclusion, through a comparison with "strangers." It is especially true in this case: the images produced by Prokudin-Gorskii shortly after the last imperial conquest provoked the Russian population to contemplate about their racial and cultural identity.[34]

The method of photography invented by Prokudin-Gorskii limited him to shooting static scenes and objects. As a result, we often do not find active agency in his images—only the objects, such as buildings and architectural details **[Ill. 21]**, deserted city vistas, and objectified posing

34 This continues in contemporary Russian culture at many levels. For example, in 2004 the Federal Archival Service published an album whose compilers and editors had not only reproduced the old photographs of the Empire but had also replicated *the ordering* of subjects, with ethnic non-Russian "types" providing a background against which the imperial and nationalist spectacle was played out (Federal'naia arkhivnaia sluzhba Rossii, *Rossiiskaia Imperiia v fotografiiakh: konets 19 — nachalo 20 veka* (St. Petersburg, 2004)).

subjects to whom history happens but they do not act upon their will **[Ill. 22]**. Frequently, landscape seems to appear as a still-life, laid out there for the viewer's eye **[Ill. 23]**. These panoramic landscapes were a representation of the "promised land" calling for settlement.

Prokudin-Gorskii was a pioneer of color photography. In contrast to the monochrome nature of black and white, the use of color served a double purpose. On the one hand, the color photographs had a lifelike quality since they appeared to be closer to the capturing the subject; yet, due to the technological shortcomings, the color of early images inevitably deviated from nature. In this situation, manipulation, deliberate or accidental, may have occurred (for example, as the result of insufficient lighting, a built-in feature of the camera designed to capture only light skin). I cannot agree more with Jean Baudrillard who has written: "The photographic event resides in the confrontation between the object and the lens, and in the violence that this confrontation provokes. . . . The photographic act is a duel."[35] In the absence of any other information, the skin color, the appearance of the subjects' face and hair served as a visual testimony to their inner identities **[Ill. 24]**.[36] Prokudin-Gorskii's desire to use color was as if he wanted the photograph to become something else—to be more than merely a transparency or a print, but instead become a three-dimensional facsimile, and replica of the subject.[37]

I conclude that the early color ethnographic photography was meant to create the new portable, affordable and accessible to lay people,

35 Jean Baudrillard, "La photographie ou l'écriture de la lumière: littéralité de l'image," in *L'Échange impossible* (Paris: Galilée, 1999), pp. 175–184.

36 It is not a coincidence that the *Gorskii Brothers* (*Gorsky Frère*), a firm organized by Sergei Mikhailovich and his sons, Mikhail and Dmitrii, in emigration produced an album of color photographs of the national pavilions of the 1937 World Fair in Paris, *Exposition Internationale des Arts et des Techniques* (1937). In the 1930s, they also planned to produce a photographic survey of France and her colonies. This idea was never realized because of the lack of financial means and World War II. However, Mikhail Prokudin-Gorskii managed to compile an album of the ethnographic types of French women wearing national costumes.

37 In the early twentieth century, the avant-garde artists of the *Paris School* (Alexander Archipenko and others) reintroduced color into the art of sculpture that had remained monochrome since the Renaissance. Used for optical effects or as a means of clarifying the overall structure, color in this situation helped *minimize* the realistic qualities of the art object and thus fulfill the modernist aspiration of divorcing art and reality.

"cabinet of curiosities," or museum on the screen and paper. As such, Russian photography played a special role in delaying the response to demands of the growing nationalist movements in Central Asia in the early twentieth century. As Roland Barthes noted, "there is here a figure for emergencies: exoticism. The 'Other' becomes a pure object, a spectacle, a clown. Relegated to the confines of humanity, he no longer threatens the security of the home."[38]

38 Barthes, *Mythologies*, p. 152.

Illustrations and Captions

1. **S. M. Prokudin-Gorskii. Emir of Bukhara**. 1911.

Here is a single but avid example of what I call the "echo" of the colonial attitudes. The following is an excerpt from an article published in *Novoe Vremia* on May 18, 2005. After having attended the traveling exhibition of Prokudin-Gorskii images at the State Russian Museum, the author Marina Koldobskaia wrote: "В насмешку или по наивности, устроители выбрали для афиши выставки парадный портрет эмира Бухарского. . . . Лицом "империи, которую мы потеряли," стал роскошный, в три обхвата, *тупорылый* восточный владыка в сверкающем орденами парчовом халате" (Марина Колдобская. Наружное наблюдение. Я люблю тебя, империя. *Новое Время* 20 (18 мая 2005), p. 5). "The organizers have chosen for the poster of the exhibition—either mockingly, or out of sheer naivety—an official portrait of the Emir of Bukhara . . . . The voluptuous, obese, *fat-witted* Oriental despot in brocade caftan covered with shining orders has become the face of 'the empire we have lost'" (emphasis added). Anyone who is not blinded by racial hatred or obsessed with the idea of Russian supremacy would notice that the last Emir of Bukhara Alim-Khan sits rather awkwardly under the watchful gaze of the photographer and the colonizing state. It is the political and cultural subjugation that causes the tragicomic effect. The full-figured ruler, confined to a narrow airless space, is "squeezed" between the two doors: are these points of access connected to an imagining of the two nations competing for Central Asia, Britain and Russia? The national dress that Alim-Khan wears preserves the appearance of the old rule, while his chest is richly decorated with foreign orders. His pose is the traditional one of the eastern monarch or strongman, and yet something very fragile about this immobile figure appears to the Western eye—the softened shoulder line can be associated with the lack of willpower. Finally, Prokudin-Gorskii did not find it necessary to include the name of the emir in the caption, which created confusion and inaccuracy for generations to come. The Library of Congress catalogers who had to guess the emir's identity some ninety years later wrote under the call number LC-P87-8086A-1[P&P]: "Sait Abdul Akhad,

Emir of Bukhara (died 1911)." A young man, the subject of the photograph, was the last emir of Bukhara who died in Afghanistan long after the USSR was formed. I thank Dr. Harold McIver Leich of the LC Russian Section and Ms. Shukria Ra'ad, the emir's youngest daughter now working for "Voice of America" in Washington, DC, for the clarification. The caption should read, "Alim-Khan, the Emir of Bukhara."

2. **A group of eight Russian soldiers from the Georgian cavalry who were decorated for the capture of the city of Khodzhent on May 24, 1866, Turkestan**. *Turkestanskii al'bom,* section 4, p. 34. 1871–1872.

3. **Samarkand antiquities: The Grave of the Holy Kussam Ibn Abass (Shakh-Zinde) and the Mausoleum. Trimming of the niche inside.** *Turkestanskii al'bom*, section 1, book 1, p. 47. 1871–1872.

4. **Samarkand antiquities: The Mausoleum of the Holy Sheik Nuret-din Bashir Kutbi-Chaardakhum (a general view from the South).** *Turkestanskii al'bom*, section 1, book 1, p. 129. 1871–1872.

5. **Samarkand antiquities: A bridge (a view from the North).** *Turkestanskii al'bom,* section 1, book 1, p. 152. 1871–1872.

6. **Fumigation of the sick, Zaravshansky District.** *Turkestanskii al'bom*, section 2, book 2, p. 144. 1871–1872.

7. **Places of the public entertainment of the Central Asians: An opium smoker.** *Turkestanskii al'bom*, section 2, book 2, p. 87. 1871–1872.

8. **Customs of the Central Asians: A circumcision.** *Turkestanskii al'bom*, section 2, book 1, p. 71. 1871–1872.

9. **Fabric printing production, Turkestan: Two men painting cloth.**

Turkestanskii al'bom, section 3, p. 5. 1871–1872.

10. **Three men working at forge for fusing cast-iron, Turkestan.** *Turkestanskii al'bom,* section 3, p. 14. 1871–1872.

11. **V. Kozlovskii. A Tajik woman, 27 years old.** *Tipy narodnostei Srednei Azii.* 1876.

12. **V. Kozlovskii. A Kirgiz man, 44 years old.** *Tipy narodnostei Srednei Azii.* 1876.

13. **S. M. Prokudin-Gorskii. Dagestani types.** Between 1902 and 1915.

14. **S. M. Prokudin-Gorskii. On the handcar outside Petrozavodsk on the Murmansk railway.** 1915.

Sergei Mikhailovich Prokudin-Gorskii, an official, and four railway workers riding on a railroad handcar.

15. **S. M. Prokudin-Gorskii. Nomadic Kirgiz, Golodnaia Steppe.** Between 1905 and 1915.

16. **S. M. Prokudin-Gorskii. Monks at work. Planting potatoes, Gethsemane Monastery.** 1910.

17. **S. M. Prokudin-Gorskii. Mellon vendor, Samarkand.** 1911.

18. **S. M. Prokudin-Gorskii. Doctors, Samarkand.** 1911.

19. **S. M. Prokudin-Gorskii. Group of Jewish children with a teacher, Samarkand.** 1911.

20. **S. M. Prokudin-Gorskii. Prison.** 1911.

21. **S. M. Prokudin-Gorskii. Portion of Shir-Dar minaret and its dome from Tillia-Kari, Samarkand.** 1911.

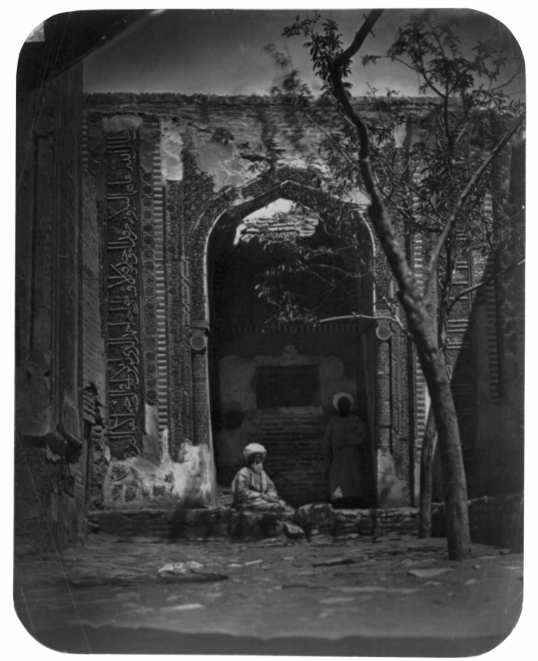
22. **S. M. Prokudin-Gorskii. Sart types, Samarkand.** 1911.

23. **S. M. Prokudin-Gorskii. General view of the Shakh-i Zindeh mosque (evening photo), Samarkand.** 1911.

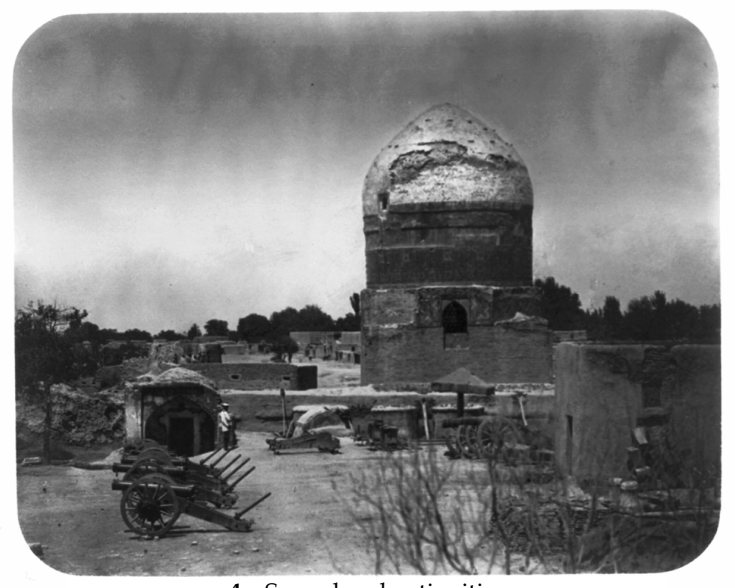
24. **S. M. Prokudin-Gorskii. Uzbek woman.** 1911.

1 Emir of Bukhara

2 A group of eight Russian soldiers from the Georgian cavalry



3 Samarkand antiquities



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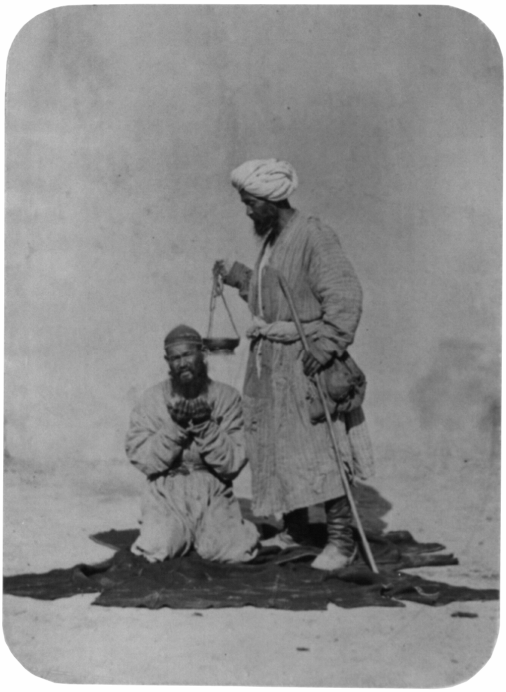
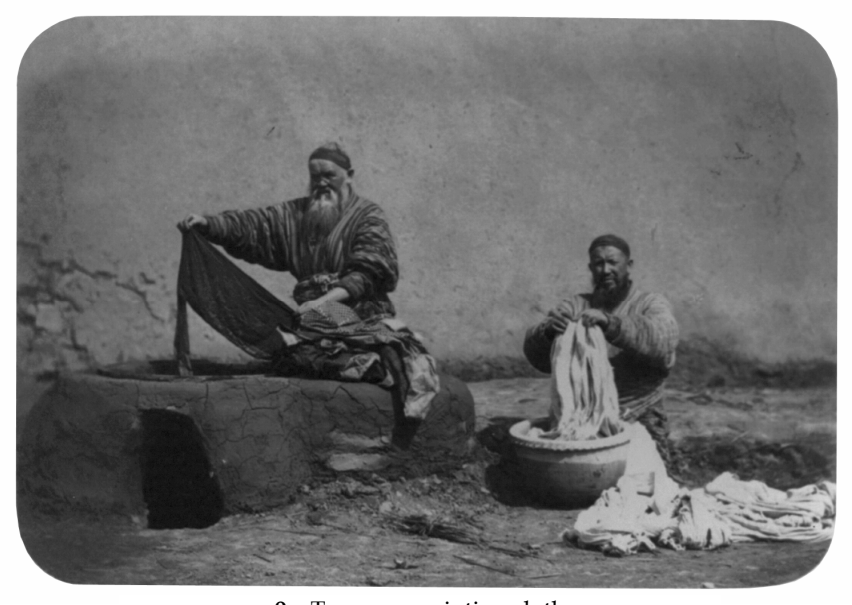
5 Samarkand antiquities



6 Fumigation of the sick

7 An opium smoker

8 A circumcision



9 Two men painting cloth

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13 Dagestani types

14 On the handcar outside Petrozavodsk

15 Nomadic Kirgiz

16 Monks at work

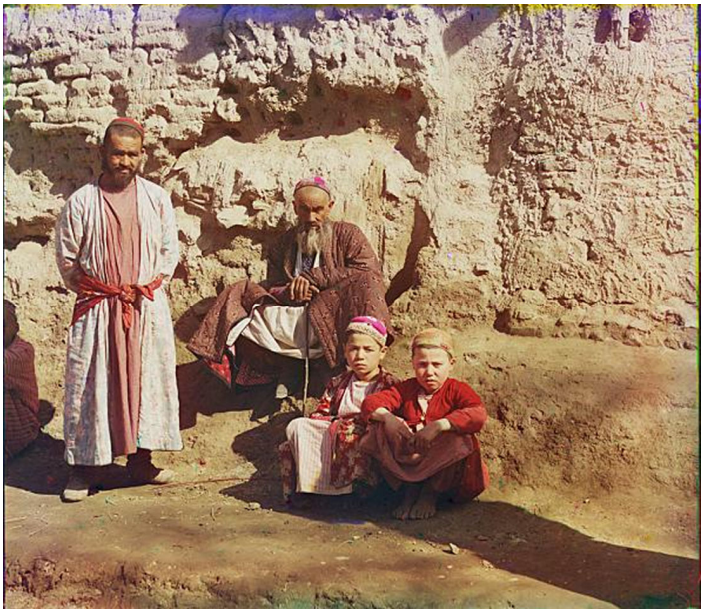
17 Mellon vendor

18 Doctors

19 Group of Jewish children with a teacher

20 Prison

21 Portion of Shir-Dar minaret and its dome



22 Sart types

23 General view of the Shakh-i Zindeh mosque

24 Uzbek woman

5

Adeeb KHALID

The Fascination of Revolution: Central Asian Intellectuals, 1917–1927

The Muslim world encountered modernity in the form of colonialism, informal or formal. The encounter produced many different reactions from different groups in various Muslim societies. While the ulama debated whether a given society was *Dār al-Islām* or not (as Professor Komatsu's paper in this volume shows so ably), newly emerging groups of intellectuals (and state officials in countries that retained formal independence) argued from a modernist perspective and emphasized the importance—indeed the obligation—for Muslims to strive for "progress" and "civilization." This trend of "Muslim modernism" underpinned the agendas of many modern states that emerged in the Muslim world in the twentieth century, but its place in the history of Muslim societies tends to be marginalized today, when Islam is more likely to be associated with opposition to "the West," and to a political commitment based solely on the dictates of religion.

This, of course, is unfortunate. The ideas of progress, civilization, and modernity were absolutely crucial in defining the political action of many Muslims. In many cases, a commitment to these ideas led Muslim intellectuals to the espousal of revolution as a modality of change. This was especially true in the time of crisis unleashed by the destruction of the old colonial order in the course of World War I. The Turkish Repub-

lic was born in such a moment of crisis and the Kemalist regime explicitly saw itself as revolutionary. *İnkilap*, revolution, became the code word for the sweeping changes introduced by the republic. This paper presents a different but contemporary case of Muslim intellectuals' fascination with revolution—the case of the Jadids of Central Asia, who went from reform to revolution in the upheaval caused by the Russian revolution.

The Emergence of Reform

Jadidism appeared in Central Asia at the turn of the twentieth century. It began in the late nineteenth century with a critique of traditional Muslim education and culminated in the advocacy of a far-ranging transformation of many aspects of communal life. The key concepts in Jadidism were "civilization" (*madaniyat*) and "progress" (*taraqqiy*), evidence that the Jadids had appropriated Enlightenment notions of history and historical change. The Jadids assimilated these notions into their understanding of Islam to produce a vigorously modernist interpretation of Islam, in which the achievement of "civilization" (always in the singular) came to be seen as the religious obligation of all Muslims.[1]

It was clear to the Jadids that the Muslims of the Russian Empire (and of Central Asia in particular) had lagged behind the rest of the world, that they were "backward," and in urgent need of "progress"—of advancing along the path to civilization, of catching up with the "more advanced" peoples of the world. For the Jadids, the fault lay with the maktab, which not only did not inculcate useful knowledge, such as arithmetic, geography, or Russian, but failed, moreover, in the task of equipping students with basic literacy or even a proper understanding of Islam itself. The Jadids elaborated a modernist critique of the *maktab*, emanating from a new understanding of the purposes of elementary education. The solution was a new method (*usul-i jadid*) of education, in which children were taught the Arabic alphabet using the phonetic method of instruction and elementary school was to have a standardized curriculum en-

1 The following paragraphs are based on Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

compassing composition, arithmetic, history, hygiene, and Russian. These new-method schools were to be the flagship of reform and indeed to give the movement its name, but the reform soon extended far beyond the modest goals of teaching functional literacy to children. Jadidism became a thoroughgoing critique of Muslim society as it was. As Munavvar Qori Abdurashidxon o'g'li, one of the leading Jadids of Turkestan wrote in 1906, "all aspects of our existence are in need of reform."[2] This included the reform of customary religious practices, the inculcation of new forms of sociability through the establishment of benevolent societies, the cultivation of new literary genres and of theater.[3] The Jadids also argued for change in the position of women, who should receive education to allow them to become better mothers and better members of the community.[4] Reform was an imperative that could not wait. "If we do not quickly make an effort to reform our affairs in order to safeguard ourselves, our nation, and our children, our future will be extremely difficult."[5]

For the Jadids, such reform could only come from within Muslim society itself. It was partly the result of the political conjuncture at which Jadidism arose: the Russian state frowned upon any activity it deemed "political," but nevertheless left large spheres open to communal action. Confessional schools therefore became a major avenue of reform, as did the printed word, which despite censorship and financial problems, transformed the way in which issues of communal importance were discussed. The main mode of operation for the Jadids before 1917 was exhortation—exhorting their compatriots to reform by painting vivid pictures (in newspapers, poems, and theater) of the grim future that awaited them if they failed to heed the call. The impassioned appeal and

2 Munavvar Qori Abdurashidxon o'g'li, "Isloh ne demakdadur," *Xurshid* (Tashkent), September 28, 1906.

3 See Shuhrat Rizayev, *Jadid dramasi* (Tashkent, 1997); Begali Qosimov, *Milliy uyg'onish* (Tashkent, 2002). Many writings of the Jadids have been published in modern Uzbek in recent years.

4 Marianne Kamp, *The New Woman in Uzbekistan: Islam, Modernity, and Unveiling under Communism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006); Şengül Hablemitoğlu and Necip Hablemitoğlu, *Şefika Gaspıralı ve Rusya'da Türk Kadın Hareketi (1893–1920)* (Ankara, 1998).

5 Munavvar Qori, "Isloh ne demakdadur."

the anguished editorial were the hallmarks of Jadid discourse.

Jadidism was a discourse of cultural reform directed at Muslim society itself. It was up to society to lift itself up by its bootstraps through education and disciplined effort. Jadid rhetoric was usually sharply critical of the present state of Muslim society, which the Jadids contrasted unfavorably to a glorious past of their own society and the current condition of the "civilized" countries of Europe. For the Jadids, progress and civilization were universal phenomena accessible to all societies on the sole condition of disciplined effort and enlightenment. There was nothing in Islam that prevented Muslims from joining the modern world; indeed, the Jadids argued that only a modern person equipped with knowledge "according to the needs of the age" could be a good Muslim.

The situation in Bukhara differed from that in Turkestan in significant ways. After they had capitulated to the Russians, the amirs of Bukhara staked their legitimacy on the claim of being the last surviving Muslim sovereigns in the region, and consequently the last safeguards for "orthodoxy." They showed little interest in implementing significant reform. Yet, a constituency for reform emerged, as Bukharan merchants newly integrated into the global economy sought a modern education for their sons. The amirs' refusal to open modern schools led local merchants to organize a benevolent society for "the Education of Children" (Tarbiya-yi atfāl) to send students to Istanbul for education. Bukharan reform thus owed a great deal to Ottoman debates. In contrast to Jadidism elsewhere in the Russian Empire, Bukharan reform was predicated on the reform of (and by) the state. Bukharan Jadids hoped that the amir would do his duty as a Muslim sovereign and lead his country to reform and progress. Education remained central to Bukharan reform, but it was to be implemented by the state.[6] This vision was best articulated by Abdurauf Fitrat (1886–1938), who spent four formative years (1909–1913) as a student in Istanbul on a scholarship from Tarbiya-yi atfāl. In 1911, Fitrat used a fictional Indian Muslim traveler as a sympathetic but stern outside critic to list the desiderata of Bukharan reformers. As the Indian travels through Bukhara, he notes the chaos and disorder in the streets, the lack of any measures regarding hygiene and public health, the complete lack of eco-

6 Adeeb Khalid, "Society and Politics in Bukhara, 1868–1920," *Central Asian Survey* 19, no. 3–4 (2000), pp. 367–396; Sadriddin Aynī, *Ta"rikhi inqilobi Bukhoro* (Dushanbe, 1987).

nomic planning or public education, and the corruption of morals and improper religious practices. Government officials (*umarā*) have no consideration for the good of the state; the ulama "drink the blood of the people," and ordinary people are victims of ignorance. Fitrat takes care to spare the amir from criticism by the traveler through the rather weak stratagem of blaming all the corruption of Bukhara on the officials and the ulama, but the severe indictment of the current order of things is unmistakable.[7]

On the eve of the revolution, Jadidism had taken root in urban Central Asia, though it had by no means won the day. Traditionalist ulama retained considerable influence, and the carriers of reform found themselves fighting an uphill battle as they staked out a position for themselves in society. As aspirants to leadership, the Jadids were ambitious, and confident that the tide of History was behind them. They aspired to a universal Civilization, which they saw as fully congruent with Islam. As such, theirs was a struggle for *inclusion*—into the modern world, and into the Russian Empire as equal citizens, with rights and representation, rather than as *inorodtsy*.

From Reform to Revolution

This calculus of power was suddenly transformed by the collapse of the Autocracy in Petrograd. The abdication of the tsar was universally acclaimed as "the dawn of liberty," as the beginning of a new era in the history of the various peoples inhabiting the empire. In a series of sweeping reforms, the Provisional Government abolished all legal distinctions between citizens on the basis of rank, religion, sex, or ethnicity, and granted every citizen over the age of 20 the right to vote. It also guaranteed the absolute freedom of the press and of assembly. Turkestanis had become citizens.

The effect of the revolution on Central Asia was electric. The enthusiasm was captured by the Tashkent poet Sirojiddin Maxdum Sidqiy who

7 'Abd al-Ra'ūf [Fitrat], *Bayānāt-i sayyāh-i hindī* (Istanbul, 1911). On Fitrat, see KOMATSU Hisao, *Kakumei no Chuo Ajia: Aru Jadido no shozo* [Revolutionary Central Asia: A Portrait of Abdurauf Fitrat] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1996).

welcomed "the epoch of freedom" that had just begun: "The sun of justice has lit the world. . . . Now, we have to set aside our false thoughts; . . . the most important aim must be to give thought to how we will live happily in the arena of freedom."[8] The ensuing weeks saw public meetings that brought together thousands of people in the cities of Central Asia; all manner of cultural and political organizations appeared, and the elections to councils of various kinds took place. The First Turkestan Muslim Congress met in Tashkent from 16 to 22 April to discuss matters of import to the Muslim community of Turkestan, and to elect delegates to a similar congress of Muslims from all over the Russian Empire in Moscow in May.

What the goals of the community should be and who should define them came to be the crucial question. For the Jadids, the revolution was a summons to action. The failure to seize the opportunity to act, wrote a Jadid teacher, "will be an enormous crime, a betrayal of not just ourselves, but of all Muslims."[9] It was also clear to the Jadids that they, with their new knowledge and their awareness of the world, were the natural group to lead their community into the new world being created. This claim was, however, contested by many other groups in society, who had little patience for "half-educated, inexperienced youth" such as the Jadids. By May, the conflict had come into the open, and two sets of parallel organizations appeared among the Muslims of Turkestan. The Jadids created a network of "Islamic Councils" (Shuroi islomiya), while their conservative opponents grouped around the Society of Ulama (Ulamo Jamiyati). Although many Jadids had impeccable credentials as ulama, the majority of the ulama mobilized against them. The conflict escalated throughout the year, as accusations of insincerity, gullibility, perfidy, and treason flew back and forth. On numerous occasions, the conflict descended into violence. In municipal elections held in several cities in the summer and autumn, the Jadids were defeated handily by their conservative opponents.[10]

In any case, the euphoria of March evaporated quickly, as the deepening crisis of the empire made more radical approaches attractive to ever

8 Sirojiddin Maxdum Sidqiy, *Toza hurriyat* (Tashkent, 1917), p. 2.

9 Muallim M. H., "Bukun qondoy kun?" *Kengash* (Kokand), April 15, 1917, p. 12.

10 On conflicts in 1917, see Khalid, *Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, chap. 8.

larger numbers of the population. In Central Asia, the situation was especially grim. The massive revolt of the Kazakh and Kyrgyz nomads in 1916 had already destroyed the colonial order in large parts of Turkestan. The revolt was suppressed with great brutality, and had led to massive retaliation by Russian settlers, who, armed by the state, extracted revenge from the nomads.[11] This bloodletting continued without a pause after the February revolution. Then, in the summer of 1917, rains failed all over Turkestan. The region, already dependent on grain shipped in from other parts of the empire, was plunged into a devastating famine. Ethnic conflict broke out, as Russian settlers, both in the cities and the countryside, sought to protect their privileged access to the food supply.[12] Turkestan was plunged into bloody ethnic and social strife from which it did not recover until the mid-1920s.[13] For the Jadids, their worst fears were coming true. They had long argued that failure to cultivate reform leading to "progress" would lead to the "destruction of even our present wretched existence."[14] The famine, the depredations of the settlers, the massive bloodletting of the civil war all seemed to be the realization of that fear.

The conflict was even sharper in Bukhara. Bukharan Jadids, who came to be known as Young Bukharans, had long hoped that the amir would do his duty (as they saw it) as a Muslim sovereign and institute reform from above. In 1917, however, they sought to pressure him into it. In March, they telegraphed the Provisional Government in Petrograd, asking it to push the amir in the direction of reform, to institute some of the liberties that had been proclaimed in Russia after the collapse of the monarchy. The amir complied and issued a manifesto in April, only to turn his back on the Jadids when they organized a public demonstration to "thank" him for the reforms. As order disintegrated in Russia, the

11 On the 1916 uprising, see Daniel R. Brower, *Turkestan and the Fate of the Russian Empire* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002); *Qaharlï 1916 zhïl / Groznyi 1916-i god* (Almaty, 1998), 2 vols.

12 Marco Buttino, *La rivoluzione capovolta: l'Asia centrale tra il crollo dell'impero zarista e la formazione dell'URSS* (Naples: L'Ancora del Mediterraneo, 2003).

13 G. Safarov, *Kolonial'naia revoliutsiia: opyt Turkestana* (Moscow, 1922), remains a classic to this day.

14 Such expressions were legion in Jadid discourse; this example is from Hoji Muin ibn Shukrullo, *Eski maktab, yangi maktab* (Samarkand, 1916).

amir of Bukhara focused his energies on maximizing his room for maneuver and gaining as much independence as he could.[15] In the process, he relied on the most conservative elements in society for support and unleashed a wave of vicious persecution against the Jadids, many of whom fled to Turkestan. There, in the maelstrom of revolution, they embraced the idea of revolutionizing the East, a process that was to begin with the overthrow of the amir. From "the kind father of the Bukharans, the king who protects his people," the amir became a bloodthirsty tyrant who lived off the toil of the peasants, and whose concerns did not extend beyond his own body.[16] The Young Bukharans' relations with the Bolsheviks were always uneasy, but each side had some use for the other. In 1920, the Red Army invaded Bukhara, toppled the amir, and installed the Young Bukharans at the head of a "people's soviet republic."[17]

The general geopolitical shifts that accompanied the end of the war added to this sense of desperation. In 1918, the Ottoman Empire capitulated to the Entente, and opened the way for unprecedented British paramountcy in the Middle East. The Jadids, along with the overwhelming majority of the Muslims of the Russian Empire, had remained loyal to Russia when the Ottomans joined the war on the side of Germany and Austria. Nevertheless, the Ottoman Empire had long exercised an emotional pull on Muslims under colonial rule, who saw in its existence hope that Muslims could create modern forms of statehood in the age of European domination. The utter defeat of the Ottomans in 1918, therefore, came as a big blow. The defeat of Islam seemed complete, and the need for change all the more urgent. This was a turning point for the Jadids, who lost a great deal of their earlier fascination with the liberal civilization of Europe, and turned to a radical anticolonial critique of the bourgeois order.[18] In this context, the Bolsheviks appeared to the Jadids as agents of a new world order, an order that contained in it the possibil-

15 R. Aizener [Eisener], "Bukhara v 1917 godu," *Vostok* 4 (1994), pp. 131–144; 5 (1994), pp. 75–92; V. L. Genis, "Bor'ba vokrug reform v Bukhare: 1917 god," *Voprosy istorii* 11–12 (2001), pp. 18–37.

16 Abdulla Badriy, *Yosh Buxorolilar bechora xalq va dehqonlar uchun yaxshimi, yamonmi?* (Moscow, 1919).

17 V. L. Genis, *«S Bukharoi nado konchat' . . . »: K istorii butaforskikh revoliutsii* (Moscow, 2001).

18 This turn is best exemplified by Fitrat, *Sharq siyosati* (Tashkent, 1919).

ity of national liberation and progress. The Bolsheviks had successfully challenged the old order of empire, and shown the power of mobilization and effort of the will.

The Bolsheviks contributed to this mood by talking incessantly in those years of "revolutionizing the East." Throughout 1917, the Bolsheviks had counted on revolution in Russia leading to a proletarian revolution in the advanced industrial states of Western Europe, such as Britain and Germany. When that revolution failed to transpire, the Bolsheviks turned their hopes to the colonies. Movements of national liberation in the colonies would destroy the economic base of bourgeois rule in Europe and thus lead to revolution. For the Jadids, "revolutionizing the East" became a mission that placed them at the center of a process of global importance. By forging revolution in Central Asia, they would help liberate Muslims of India and the Middle East from the tyranny of the British.

Before the war, Fitrat had used an Englishman as his mouthpiece in his exhortations to reform. Europe was the model to be followed, and the onus was on Muslims (and particularly their rulers) to undertake the necessary effort. By the end of the war, Fitrat's views had changed. In Tashkent, where he fled from the amir's persecution in 1917, Fitrat turned to an increasingly critical view of the situation. His writings from 1919 and 1920 are intensely anticolonial and specifically anti-British. From being exemplars of progress, the British had become unmitigated villains. Imperialism, exploitation, and oppression had now become the hallmarks of Europe (and Britain in particular). In a series of essays and two plays that were staged in Tashkent, Fitrat focused on the oppression of British rule in India and celebrated those who struggled against it. For Fitrat, patriotic duty such as driving the English out of India was "as great [a duty] as saving the pages of the Qur'an from being trampled by an animal . . . , a worry as great as that of driving a pig out of a mosque."[19] Muslims could attain progress only by casting off the yoke of imperialism and its agents, among which the amir of Bukhara now counted.

19 Fitrat, "Hind ixtilolchilari" (1920), in Fitrat, *Chin sevish: she'rlar, dramalar, maqolalar*, ed. Naim Karimov et al. (Tashkent, 1997), p. 80. See also Adeeb Khalid, "Visions of India in Central Asian Modernism: The Work of Abdurauf Fitrat," in Hans Harder and Beate Eschment, eds., *Looking at the Coloniser* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2004), pp. 253–274.

It was not that Fitrat had changed his mind. His earlier fascination with Europe was also premised on the need for Bukharans and other Muslims to acquire the skills and the means necessary for self-preservation and self-strengthening. The war and the utter defeat suffered by the Ottomans had transformed the calculus on which Fitrat's earlier ideas were based. British paramountcy in the Muslim world heightened the stakes and removed all illusions of benevolence Fitrat might have entertained. The Russian revolution, on the other hand, with its direct challenge to the established imperial world order, offered tantalizing new hopes of achieving the same objectives Fitrat had desired—progress, national self-strengthening, and independence. Fitrat and many others like him had switched their bets to a different kind of modernity.

The Contours of Revolution

These conflicts were to define the politics of the different actors in Turkestani urban society in the years to come. Society, it turned out, did not care for the Jadids' vision of change. The result for the Jadids was not a retreat into moderation, but further radicalization. The Russian revolution and the broader geopolitical transformation of the world further convinced them of the futility of exhortation and gradualism as modalities of change. "Many among us," Fitrat now wrote, "say, 'Rapid change in methods of education, in language and orthography, or in the position of women, is against public opinion [*afkori umumiya*] and creates discord among Muslims. . . . We need to enter into [such reforms] gradually.' [The problem is that] the thing called 'public opinion' does not exist among us. We have a general majority [*"umum" ko'pchilik*], but it has no opinion. . . . There is not a thought, not a word that emerges from their own minds. The thoughts that our majority has today are not its own, but are only the thoughts of some imam or *oxund*. [Given all this,] no good can come from gradualness."[20]

The Jadids had come to be fascinated by the idea of revolutionary transformation of society, although they saw revolution in national, not

20 Fitrat, "«Tadrij»ga qorshu," *Tong* 3 (May 15, 1920), pp. 78–80.

class terms.[21] They flocked into the new organs of power, and threw their energies into a number of projects of cultural transformation. The nation had to be dragged into the modern world, kicking and screaming if need be. Change had to be radical, sudden, and imposed; and it was to be, above all, a revolution of the mind. The masthead of the journal in which Fitrat wrote carried the slogan, "No change can take hold until the mind is changed" (*Miya o'zgarmaguncha boshqa o'zgarishlar negiz tutmas*). The Jadids' embrace of the idea of revolution brought them close to the Bolsheviks, even though ultimately the two ideas of revolution were quite different. To the Jadids, revolution made sense only as a national, rather than a class, enterprise—revolution would deliver the nation, however defined, from internal and external tyranny, and lead it on the road to progress.

By the summer of 1920, the Bolsheviks had won the civil war and established control over Central Asia. Russian settlers were ejected from the Turkestan government, but Bolsheviks sent from Moscow to replace them knew little of local conditions and had few footholds in the region. They made a concerted effort to recruit members of the indigenous population into the new institutions of power they were building, and thus opened up a space for local activists to join the regime in transforming and reshaping their society.[22] The Jadid grabbed this opportunity, as they set out to bring about the transformations they had long aspired to, but in a different political context. The era of exhortation was gone; now, it was the time for mobilization and transformation, for the use of the power of the state to bring about, by force if necessary, the changes that were necessary for "progress" and "civilization." This is what revolution meant to the Jadids. They had embraced revolution as a modality for change, even as they were hostile to the language of class espoused by the Bolsheviks. Revolution was to serve *national* goals, as articulated by

21 I have made this point at greater length in "Nationalizing the Revolution: The Transformation of Jadidism, 1917–1920," in Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin, eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 145–162.

22 See my "Turkestan v 1917–1922 godakh: bor'ba za vlast' na okraine Rossii," in *Tragediia velikoi derzhavy: natsional'nyi vopros i raspad Sovetskogo Soiuza* (Moscow, 2005), pp. 189–226.

the Jadids. The pursuit of national revolution would displace established elites and replace them with a new leadership; but it did not mean full scale social revolution along class lines. Rather, the revolution was effectively nationalized by a radicalized cultural elite bent on revolutionizing the nation.

The 1920s were years of great enthusiasm for the Jadids. In Bukhara, they found themselves at the helm of an ostensibly independent state. Although for much of its short life (it was abolished in 1924), the People's Soviet Republic of Bukhara fought internal disorder, with peasant insurgency, backed by the amir and his functionaries consuming the eastern reaches of the country and taking up most of the energies of the government. Nevertheless, the Young Bukharans embarked on a program of national and cultural reform that dated from their time as an underground movement. They set out to reform the maktabs and the madrasas and to systematize them in a network of public education. The ulama had been the main source of hostility to the Jadids before 1920, and many of them suffered in the aftermath of the "revolution." Some were executed (old accounts had to be settled), and many went into exile in Afghanistan. Others supported the uprising in the mountainous regions of eastern Bukhara (present-day Tajikistan) against the Bukharan republic. But there were reformist figures, such as Domla Ikrom and Sharifjon Makhdum, notables and luminaries of Bukhara's literary scene, who threw their support behind the new government. During its brief existence, the Bukharan government tried to organize "progressive" ulama around this core. During 1923 and 1924, Bukharan ulama held congresses (very much on the revolutionary pattern in vogue since 1917) to express support for reforming Islam, for the policies of the Young Bukharan government, and against international imperialism.

The Young Bukharans also nationalized waqf properties, tried to establish a system of public health, and sought to establish a *national* economy. Fitrat returned to Bukhara from Tashkent in early 1921 where he joined the National Economic Council. He also served as minister for education, during which period he established a school of music and supervised the task of gathering information about the country's cultural

heritage.[23] The model for the Young Bukharans came not from Marx, but from modernist Muslim notions of change, especially those that had been developed in the late Ottoman Empire. (The years of the Bukharan republic coincided with the beginning of the nationalist movement in Turkey and the establishment of the Turkish Republic.) This was not what the Bolsheviks had in mind, though, and they squeezed out the most "nationalist" members of the government, including Fitrat, by mid-1923.[24]

In Turkestan, few Jadids got close to political power. The Bolsheviks were keen to attract members of the indigenous population into their ranks, and the earliest years of the new regime saw a substantial influx of Muslims into the party. Many Jadids joined up, but they were upstaged by a different group of Muslims—those with Russian educations, who could function much more effortlessly in Russian than the Jadids. Many of them were Kazakhs from Semirech'e province, then part of Turkestan. The most prominent indigenous political figure in the early years of Soviet rule was Turar Rysqulov (1894–1938), a Kazakh who had attended a so-called Russian-native school before attending a school of agronomy in Pishpek (now Bishkek). He was not a Jadid, for he had no previous connection to the reform of education or culture. His path to politics was quite direct. During the revolution, he became politically active (although the details of his actions in 1917 and 1918 are murky), and emerged in 1919 as the chairman of the "Muslim Bureau" of the local Communist Party, an office that was supposed to work for the inclusion of the Muslim population of the region into the Party. By January 1920, he had become chair of the central executive committee of Soviet Turkestan, the highest office in the executive branch of regional government under the new regime. To be sure, the executive authority of Soviet Turkestan was subordinate to the center, but Rysqulov was only the first of many natives to head regional government. His passion was the revolutionary mobilization of the local population with the aim of achieving

23 Aleksandr Dzhumaev, "Otkryvaia «chernyi iashchik» proshlogo," *Muzykal'naia akademiia* 1 (2000), pp. 89–103.

24 An adequate history of the Bukharan People's Republic remains to be written. The foregoing paragraphs are the first fruit of a long term project on Central Asia in the early Soviet period. For broad outlines, see *Turkestan v nachale XX veka: k istorii istokov natsional'noi nezavisimosti* (Tashkent, 2000), pp. 522–611.

economic and political equality with Russians within the new Soviet state, and working toward a world revolution that would liberate the colonial world from European rule.[25] Rysqulov was succeeded by a series of other figures from similar backgrounds, men comfortable with Russian and the intrigues of power, but with no roots in Muslim reform.

The Jadids, however, dominated the cultural realm for much of the decade, during which they worked to create a new *national* culture and cultural identity. What allowed the Jadids to do all this was the Soviet regime's commitment to overcoming backwardness and revolutionizing culture. The state was to play a central role in matters of culture. If the Tsarist regime had shied away from substantial intervention in local society, the Bolsheviks were the very opposite. It was the state's revolutionary goal to "build culture." The state provided funds for the opening of new schools, the publication of newspapers, magazines, and books, and even for theater. The Soviets also sought to "indigenize" their regime in order to overcome the distrust of the indigenous population toward them as outsiders. As early as 1918, they declared Uzbek the official language of Turkestan alongside Russian (by 1921, Turkmen and Kazakh had also been elevated to this status). This official recognition was important, for it opened up the necessity of reforming local languages and modernizing their vocabulary. The Soviets also sponsored large-scale ethnographic "exploration" on the assumption that the land and its people had to be better understood if they were to be incorporated into the new regime.[26] All of this opened up vast arenas of cultural work into which the Jadids stepped with gusto.

The Jadids' goals in this regard were those common to any number of nationalist movements in Europe and Asia of the time, which held that a nation has to have a national culture—literature, theater, journalism—that is authentically its own and expressed in its own language. Theater flourished even in the darkest days of the civil war and famine. Writers threw themselves into creating a modern literature that celebrated pro-

25 On Rysqulov, see Ordalï Qongïratbaev, *Tŭrar Rïsqŭlov: qoghamdïq-sayasi jäne memlekettík qïzmetí* (Almaty, 1994); V. M. Ustinov, *Turar Ryskulov: ocherki politicheskoi biografii* (Almaty, 1996). See also T. R. Ryskulov, *Sobranie sochinenii v trekh tomakh* (Almaty, 1997).

26 Ingeborg Baldauf, *'Kraevedenie' and Uzbek National Consciousness* (Bloomington: Indiana University, Papers on Inner Asia, 20, 1992).

gress and the new life, but which was also unabashedly nationalist. The 1920s was the golden age of Uzbek literature, when luminaries such as Fitrat, Cho'lpon, and Abdulla Qodiriy, along with a host of other writers, created works of prose, poetry, and drama that are still unrivalled.[27]

Creating a national literature required the reform of language itself. The Jadids had long talked about simplifying the grammar and the orthography of the language. Now, they tackled the matter head on. In the radical spirit of the age, the reforms went much further than anything that had been mooted before 1917. By 1922, reformers had begun using a modified form of the Arabic alphabet, one in which all vowels were indicated. By the middle of the decade, even more radical proposals were afoot, and the proposal to adopt the Latin script for all Turkic languages in the Soviet Union gathered force, and ultimately won the day in 1928, when the Latin script was adopted for all languages in the Turkic republics of the Soviet Union. (This reform also affected Tajik, an Indo-Iranian language). The Latinization of Turkic languages was a self-conscious cultural reorientation. To its enthusiasts, the Latin script symbolized progress, modernity, and participation in a universal civilization. There was, of course, opposition to such moves, but as in much else, proponents of radical reform were able to carry the argument by bringing in the power of the state to work on their behalf.[28] The Jadids also poured a great deal of energy into the creation of modern schools. The first state-run schools for the indigenous population were new-method schools of Jadid provenance, which were taken over by local soviets and turned into Soviet schools. Teachers from Jadid schools provided the bulk of the workforce in early Soviet schools, and early primers and textbooks bore a clear Jadid imprint in terms of content, style, and subject.

27 Again, a great deal has been published on the subject in recent years in Uzbek. For a useful overview, see *XX asr o'zbek adabiyoti tarixi* (Tashkent, 1999).

28 Ingeborg Baldauf, *Schriftreform und Schriftwechsel bei den muslimischen Russland- und Sowjettürken (1850–1937): ein Symptom ideengeschichtlicher und kulturpolitischer Entwicklungen* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993); John Perry, "Script and Scriptures: The Three Alphabets of Tajik Persian, 1927–1997," *Journal of Central Asian Studies* 2, no. 1 (1997), pp. 2–18; Adrienne Edgar, *Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 139–143. On language change, see William Fierman, *Language Planning and National Development: The Uzbek Experience* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1991); B. S. Asimova, *Iazykovoe stroitel'stvo v Tadzhikistane, 1920–1940 gg*. (Dushanbe, 1982).

Conclusion

It all turned out badly for the Jadids. The Bolsheviks' universalist vision of the future had no place in it for any local or national peculiarities. As soon as the Party felt confident of its grip on power in the region, it launched a project of transformation that overlapped with that of the Jadids in its emphasis on social and cultural transformation, but was driven by entirely different criteria. The Jadids were prised out of public life, and over the course of the 1930s, fell victim to the Terror. In the most brutal fashion possible, the Party had asserted its monopoly over the definition of revolution. Henceforth, revolution could only be Marxist-Leninist, as defined by the Party leadership.

Yet, we should remember that in actual political fact, the Party had enjoyed no such monopoly for much of the first decade and more of the Soviet period. Revolution had appealed to many groups in society, who had transformed the face of Central Asia even the full scale Soviet assault on traditional culture began in 1927. In the process, new identities emerged, which to this day bear the signs of the tumultuous era in which they were conceived, despite several generations of historiography that sought to occlude them. Ultimately, however, the Bolsheviks were able to wrest control of the new organs of power they were creating. This they did through the creation of a new political class of indigenous Communists, created through new mechanisms of socialization. These indigenous Communists were a product of Soviet institutions. Their political trajectories were different from the Jadids', and it was this class that was to displace the Jadids (and consign them to oblivion) in the decade after 1927.

6

Mambet KOIGELDIEV

The Alash Movement and the Soviet Government: A Difference of Positions

Tsarist Repression of the Kazakh Elite

The 1730s saw the start of colonization of the Kazakh steppe by the Russian Empire,[1] and it was from this period that the question of the relationship with the Russian administration and attitude toward its reforms would become a fundamental problem for the Kazakh ruling elite. Polarization of opposing views on the issue would eventually lead to a split amongst them. Exacerbation of relations between pro- and anti-Russian camps often ended in tragedy. Khan Abulkhair, with whom the start of the Junior Juz's incorporation into the Russian Empire is associated, would meet his death at the hands of sultan Barak, an opponent of the rapprochement between Kazakh society and Russia (1748). Khan Esim Nuraliev, the grandson of khan Abulkhair, was killed by supporters of batyr Syrym Datov who held that the latter was beholden to Russia

1 The annexation of Kazakhstan to the Russian Empire is generally considered to have begun in 1731, when khan Abulkhair of the Junior Juz signed an agreement accepting the status of a Russian subject. The process of integrating the Middle and Senior Juzes was completed in 1864, when the Siberian and Syr Darya military fortification lines were combined in the city of Turkestan.

(1797). Khan Zhantore Aichuvakov, known for faithfully doing the Russian administration's bidding, was murdered by men acting on the instructions of sultan Karatai (1809), who also did not wish to see the Kazakhs under the Russian Empire.

This was the time of the Empire's protectorate over the Junior and Middle Juzes. The Russian administration during that period set itself a clear objective: to weaken and bring about the gradual dissipation of the Kazakh khanate from within so as to prepare it to eventually accept Russian control. During this period the Russian government did not allow any one khan or sultan to bolster his position, artificially brooking hostility between them and supporting those sultans who would serve Russia faithfully and loyally in becoming khans. In short, in the Kazakh khans the Russian administrators were looking for men who would compliantly do their bidding, not the independently minded or strong politicians with dreams of sovereignty.

Khan Nurali's son, Karatai Nuraliev, for example, despite having been elected khan on several occasions (in 1809 and 1815 at any rate) in the Kurultai of the Junior Juz's largest clans—the Baiuly and the Alimuly—was never officially recognized as such by the Tsarist administration. The reason was the sultan's vigorous opposition to the Tsar's predatory policies, and in this respect he received strong support from his tribesmen. When asked by sultan Karatai to respect the will of those who elected him, Orenburg governor-general Volkonskii replied: "I must rejoin that unless his Majesty wills it so, none should venture to address you 'khan,' nor may you bestow upon yourself that estimable title, upon risk of legal consequences."[2]

Of course there were no laws requiring that a khan elected by the Kazakh Kurultai also had to be officially endorsed by the Tsarist administration: in this case the colonialists' intentions were simply tantamount to law.

One victim of the Tsarist administration's repressive policies was Aryngazy Abulgaziev, a khan of the Junior Juz who held considerable influence in the latter. Count Nessel'rode, a senior Tsarist official, described him thus: "Aryngazy is brave, ambitious and generous, and so

2 *Trudy obshchestva izucheniia Kazakhstana: Otdel istorii i etnografii*, tom 7, vyp. 2 (Kyzyl-Orda, 1926), p. 92.

may instill devotion towards himself or, through fear, grow to become sole ruler of the Horde, and then we will find ourselves moving in directions not of our own choosing but instead seeking to satisfy his demands."[3]

In May 1821 khan Aryngazy was summoned to St. Petersburg by the very Tsar himself. The defiant and intransigent khan was detained en route and sent to Kaluga, where he lived in exile for another 13 years until his death in 1833. In his homeland he was survived by a large family and children. To the sultan's request that he be given his freedom came the reply "it deigns the Tsar to find that the expected benefits of releasing sultan Aryngazy cannot compare with the dangers, which seem highly probable."[4]

Yet during this period the process of recruiting servants of the Tsar from among the ruling Kazakh elite was already successfully underway. The sultans Akhmet Zhanturin, Baimukhamed Aichuvakov and others, having been conferred military rank and other privileges by the Russian administration, took charge of detachments of the Tsar's army to suppress anti-colonial actions of their compatriots.[5]

Once the Russian system of government had been established in Kazakhstan, the way in which the Kazakh ruling elite was dealt with changed significantly.[6] To professionalize the running of Kazakh society, the colonial administration switched to training Kazakhs themselves to serve among its ranks. The younger generation of Kazakhs, recipients of a Russian education and upbringing, were meant to lead the line in terms of advocating the interests of the Russian state and Russian culture.

3 Ibid., p. 147.

4 Ibid.; *Istoriia Kazakhskoi SSR s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei v piati tomakh*, vol. 3 (Alma-Ata, 1979), p. 168.

5 "The descendants of khan Shirgazy Aichuvakov and the sultans Baimukhamet Aichuvakov and Akhmed and Arslan Zhanturin, and the families whose relatives participated in suppressing the feudal movement of Kenesary Kasymov were freed from paying taxes." *Istoriia Kazakhskoi SSR*, vol. 3, p. 230.

6 As a result of administrative reforms in 1867–1868 the Kazakh steppe was blanketed in a uniform system of government. Administration was clearly military in nature. All power was concentrated in the hands of the Russian military and bureaucratic machine. The influence of the Kazakh aristocracy and sultans, *bai*s (the rich and influential), *bi*s (tribal leaders who served also as judges in customary courts) and village chiefs was essentially destroyed. And this system of administration was maintained until 1917.

This objective was realized, to a certain extent, through Kazakh scholars and leading educators Ch. Ch. Valikhanov, I. Altynsarin and others who were products of Russian educational institutions. Yet at the same time they were not simply blinkered agents of their colonial masters, and thus in their behavior and sentiments there was a certain duality. On the one hand they understood that without European education and culture Kazakh society could not be freed from its medieval ways and backwardness, but at the same time they could not help but see the negative consequences of colonial dependence. The sharply critical stance taken by Ch. Valikhanov, I. Altynsarin, Zh. Chuvakov and other leading members of Kazakh society towards the Tsarist administration's reforms evidence the dawning of a qualitatively new period in relations between the national elite and the administration.

The Alash Movement

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Russia, throwing caution to the wind, began overt colonization of Kazakhstan. Once the legislative framework was in place, it began intensive resettlement of Russian peasants to the steppe, convinced they were the bearers of an advanced culture. According to the Tsarist ideology, and later that of the Bolsheviks, there was not, and could not be, anything particularly serious in life on the steppe, and so it should be reformed fundamentally and immediately so as to convert it to Russian ways. Kazakh youth being taught in Russian educational institutions were inculcated with this idea. Tsarist agrarian policies, mass expropriation of Kazakh lands for the newcomers, and increasing impoverishment of the masses compelled educated Kazakhs to enter politics on a professional level, nurture the idea of national liberation, and organize a political party with a concrete agenda.

The Tsarist administration engaged in double dealing with them. On one hand, representatives of the national elite (A. Bukeikhanov, A. Birimzhanov, A. Kalmenov, B. Karataev and others) were elected to the first two State Duma convocations. On the other, the issue of resettlement, which was keenly and persistently raised by them through the Muslim faction and Cadet deputies, and heated debates on the topic at

sessions of the Duma led to the Kazakh people being stripped of the right to vote.[7] And while all this was going the most active members of the national elite were being subjected to persecution and deportation.[8]

In response to these brutish colonial policies, Tsarism engendered a strong opposition among the Kazakh intellectual elite, which pressed for a return to independence. The formation of the Alash Orda government and the autonomy of Turkestan (Kokand) in 1917 were not just the result of intense political activity by the national elite; at the same time these events attested to the immense potential of such activity to bring about a national revival.

Thus, the Alash movement was born of the serious crisis that stemmed from the Tsarist colonial policies in Kazakhstan. Progressive forces in Kazakh society, first and foremost the emerging national intelligentsia, understood perfectly well the sinister implications of colonial dependency and saw as a way out of the situation the reinstatement of national statehood.

Here certain specific features of the Kazakh liberation movement at the start of the twentieth century are worth noting. Firstly, the liberation movement of this period was a logical continuation of the Kazakh people's struggle for independence, only under new historical conditions. It was a logical continuation, for example, of the anti-colonialist actions of the Kazakhs in the nineteenth century.[9]

Secondly, however, at the start of the twentieth century the liberation movement was led by a political force new to Kazakh society: the national intelligentsia. Though modest in number, they were extremely

7 The Regulation on Elections to the State Duma of July 3, 1907. See V. I. Kovalenko et al., eds., *Politicheskaia istoriia Rossii: Khrestomatiia* (Moscow, 1996), p. 607.

8 In 1907–1910 the leaders of the national liberation movement Alikhan Bukeikhanov, Akhmet Baitursunov and Mir-Yakub Dulatov were convicted and received sentences of various lengths, then were deported from Kazakhstan for involvement in the anti-colonial movement.

9 Soviet historiographers did not acknowledge that the manifestations of Kazakh anti-colonialism of the twentieth century had its roots in the nineteenth century. For example, the Kazakh revolt under the leadership of Kenesary Kasymov in 1837–1847 was treated as a feudal-monarchist uprising, while the social and political activity of the national intelligentsia at the start of the twentieth century as a bourgeois nationalist movement. In contemporary historiographies of Kazakhstan both of these developments are treated as stages of the one and the same anti-colonial movement.

active and politically sophisticated.

A distinctive result of the progress of the national liberation movement was the founding of the Alash party in the summer and autumn of 1917. The party's platform, which was published in the newspaper *Qazaq* (*Kazakh*),[10] essentially consisted of two objectives: liberating the Kazakh people from colonial dependency and taking them forward to surmount the nation's social and economic backwardness. As was stated quite clearly in the party's program, it intended to achieve these main goals through political and socio-economic reform rather than radical revolutionary change. Thus, in terms of the methods it advocated to achieve its objectives, the Alash movement was fundamentally different from the Bolshevist faction of social democrats. It was no accident, therefore, that the ideas and slogans of the October socialist revolution of 1917 were rejected out of hand by Alash. And during the civil war the Alash party and the Alash Orda government joined forces in rallying against the Bolsheviks and the Soviets.

Let us now take a look at the key aspects of the Alash party's program. In the section on state structure it is stated that "Russia should become a democratic, federal republic (in a democracy the power belongs to the people, a federation is a union of states with equal rights. Each state in a federal republic has its own territory, may independently determine its own agenda, and is bound by ties of friendship)."[11] The head of state and government would be the president, elected by the State Duma for a fixed term. All citizens would have the right to vote, irrespective of their origin, faith and gender. The power to legislate would lie with the State Duma, which would monitor the activities of government agencies, hear their reports and make enquiries regarding specific areas of interest.

It is interesting to note that before the 1917 Bolshevik revolution the leaders of the Alash movement were hesitant to discuss the question of independent statehood, limiting themselves to the demands that Kazakh oblasts be given the right to a certain amount of local self-government (zemstvo) and a greater role in the judicial process and military service,

10 The decision to create the Alash political party was made at the all-Kazakh congress in July 1917. *Alash qozghalïsï / Dvizhenie Alash: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov*, vol. 1 (Almaty, 2004), pp. 438–441.

11 Ibid., pp. 504–505.

with account for local customs. The Alash program states that "all Kazakh lands are united as a consolidated whole, are sovereign and join the Russian Republic on federal grounds."[12] The political state of affairs in the former empire at the end of 1917 was such that the leaders of the national liberation movement could quite openly discuss the question of state autonomy within the framework of the federation.

The party also took a moderate line when it came to social policy. Its program contains no hint of restricting the rights of the feudal aristocracy. The movement's leaders were convinced that in Kazakh society, due to certain circumstances, class differentiation had not evolved as it had in, for example, Russian society. Moreover, for Kazakh society, which was at the stage where the liberation movement was gaining popularity, it was more important to consolidate the nation than to lead it to confrontation on the basis of class differences and interests. These interests are reflected in the program in the distinctive assertion that the Alash party is directing its efforts and energies for the good of the nation, is "leading people on the path to progress" and "championing justice."

The program also makes no mention of disqualifying any social groups or forces from a role in governing the state. The question of taxation was decided along roughly the same line: "levying of taxes shall be done fairly, depending on wealth and income, that is to say, the rich will pay more, and the poor—less."[13] Workers rights would be protected by special legislative acts. On this question the Alash party took the same stance as the social democrats (Mensheviks).

Under the Alash party program autonomous Kazakhstan would become a secular state, i.e., there would be no state religion, and all citizens would have freedom of conscience to practice their choice of faith. The anti-feudal and anti-colonial character of the program was particularly palpable in the sections "Principal Rights" and "Teaching of Science and Knowledge." Here it was noted that in the Russian Republic all citizens, irrespective of faith, nationality, race or gender, would be equal. Other stipulations that were provided for included the right to assemble and to organize associations, freedom of speech and freedom of the press, the inviolability of the individual and one's residence, etc.

12 Ibid., p. 504.
13 Ibid., p. 505.

As follows from an analysis of the party's program, the leaders of the Alash movement advocated first and foremost implementation of steps aimed at decolonization and the achievement of general democratic objectives. Their main, pressing task was to bring about national rebirth. They were also well aware that this could be attained by creating a society receptive to progressive experience of others. And, naturally, they had not the least intention of establishing an insular, mononational state, as Soviet historians claimed.

Soviet Hostility to the Alash Intelligentsia

The leaders of the national liberation movement also understood clearly it was impossible for these objectives to be reached in Russia without creating a democratic system and giving freedom of choice to people who had previously been dependent on the metropolis. On this platform they were prepared to co-operate with the new regime. Expressing the general view held by the Alash party's founders, A. Baitursunov in a letter to Lenin wrote: "The proletariat of the Russian nation, which has for centuries been stealing from and oppressing the Kazakhs, must prove and demonstrate through deeds that they are the liberators of oppressed peoples and not their new subjugating masters who wish to sponge off them in place of the Tsar's bureaucrats."[14] At the same time he urged the Soviet leadership to tackle the escalating problems in Kazakh society in conjunction with the nation's political elite who had gained experience in the pre-revolutionary struggle. He wrote, " . . . among the Kirgiz [i.e., Kazakhs] there is a certain part of the intelligentsia that the people trust wholeheartedly and who, while not being immune to mistakes or losing their way, would never deliberately sell out their people no matter the reward or benefit. The most direct route, if the Russian proletariat wishes to gain the trust of the Kirgiz, is through these members of the intelligentsia."[15]

Were the calls of Baitursunov and others heard by the central leader-

14 A. Baitursunov, "Pis'mo tov. Leninu V. I. 17 maia 1920 g.," Arkhiv Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan (AP RK), f. 811, op. 20, d. 568, ll. 46–46 ob.

15 Ibid.

ship? Ensuing events and the process of Sovietization in the republic show that the Soviet government was confident it knew better than anyone the local problems and the ways and methods of solving such problems, and had no intention of handing over the initiative to anyone else in this regard. This was manifested in the following. Firstly, leadership posts in Communist Party organizations in the Kazakh oblast (up to the year 1925), and later the krai, were given to officials who were assigned from Moscow[16] and had no knowledge of local life or customs, and hence judged them "according to Moscow stereotypes."[17] As a result they had no "specific work plan" other than the basic instructions set out in the "Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia" and the Russian Communist Party program.[18] Most of these officials, who had earlier been involved in revolutionary activities and the civil war, behaved themselves under the new conditions as some sort of higher caste of "celebrated heroes and liberators" and were carriers of that disease, Russian "Bonapartism"—i.e., viewing local problems from on high and with excessive simplification.

Secondly, while solidifying their grip on power in Kazakhstan, the Bolsheviks methodically and consistently propagated the view that the pre-revolutionary Kazakh intelligentsia were some sort of reactionary, counter-revolutionary force that had acted in opposition to the cardinal interests of the Kazakh population on the whole. As an example, in the resolutions of the First All-Kirgiz (Kazakh) Party Conference it was noted unequivocally, "the Kirgiz intelligentsia have no connection (by origin or status) to the Kirgiz masses and are least of all connected with the interests of the poorest of the Kirgiz people."[19]

While did exist other views among the Communist Party ranks as to

16 Before Goloshchekin was sent to Kazakhstan as the First Secretary of the krai party organization the post was held by: S. S. Pestkovskii (1920), I. A. Akulov (1920–1921), M. Murzagaliev (1921), M. M. Kostelovskaia (1921), G. A. Korostelev (1921–1924) and V. I. Naneishvili (1924–1925). Of these, the only Kazakh was M. Murzagaliev, who led the oblast party organization for less than six months in 1921.

17 T. Sedel'nikov, "Tsarskaia okraina: vzgliad iznutri (Pis'mo V. I. Ul'ianovu-Leninu)," *Mysl'* 7 (1993), p. 80.

18 Baitursunov, "Pis'mo tov. Leninu," l. 46.

19 *Kazakhstanskaia oblastnaia (kraevaia) partiinaia organizatsiia v rezoliutsiiakh i resheniiakh konferentsii i plenumov obkoma i kraikoma*, vol. 1, *1921–1927* (Alma-Ata, 1981), p. 33.

the place and role of those of the intelligentsia who were not party members, it was on the former that social policy of Kazakh Krai Committee (Kazkraikom) of the Russian Communist Party was to be based in subsequent years. Admittedly it could not have been any other way, given the political predominance of a party that explicitly claimed the solution to national problems lay in resolving class conflict. Stalin himself was the inspiration for this approach. Having raised the issue of Tatar "nationalism" (embodied by M. Sultangaliev) at the Fourth Meeting of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with the responsible officials of national republics and oblasts in 1923,[20] he imposed the task of "turning Turkestan into a model republic" before railing against "Kazakh nationalism." In his letter to the members of the Kazkraikom Bureau of May 29, 1925, regarding the newspaper *Aq-Jol* (formerly an organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkestan and the Central Executive Committee of the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic), he took an emphatically negative view of the newspaper's line, adjudging that the critical comments on its pages "had no place in the country of the Soviets."

The Kazkraikom's stance towards "non-party intelligentsia" was also set out in the letter. He wrote: "I am against non-party intelligentsia educating Kirgiz youth in politics and ideology. We did not seize power to let the political and ideological education of our youth be handed over to the bourgeois, non-party intelligentsia."[21]

Stalin's letter essentially signified the hardening of policy towards the Alash Orda intelligentsia, restricting their activities in the fields of science, the arts and especially in the press. And what is particularly interesting is that the offensive that was to be launched against the main leaders of the Alash party (which had already long since ceased to exist as such) was prepared simultaneously by the various ranks of the Communist Party and OGPU.[22]

The Kazakhstan OGPU took to its task with enthusiasm, providing

20 I. V. Stalin, *Sochineniia*, vol. 5 (Moscow, 1952), pp. 291–341.

21 AP RK, f. 141, op. 1, d. 479–A, ll. 1–2.

22 The acronym OGPU stands for *Ob"edinennoe Gosudarstvennoe Politicheskoe Upravlenie* (Unified State Political Administration), later renamed the Committee for National Security, or KGB, of the USSR.

quarterly status reports "On the Activities of the Alash Orda and Kazakh National Factions." In one such report the activities of former leaders and activists of Alash and national factions in the final quarter of 1922 were described as being characteristic of a movement whose purpose was national liberation. Taken together with others, this document serves as confirmation that the Soviet leadership understood and recognized internally the existence of a real national liberation movement in Kazakh society. However, obscuring it in class-related slogans, they purposely wrote it off as anti-Soviet activity by the national bourgeoisie.

From about the year 1925 the process of forcing the Alash Orda intelligentsia out of printed media began. For example, on two occasions (March 2 and October 23) that year the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) (hereinafter the "Central Committee") reviewed the status of the press in Kazakhstan. Decisions adopted by the Central Committee's secretariat on March 2, 1925, cite "inadequate control of printed periodicals on the part of the Kirgiz [Kazakh] Krai Committee and local party bodies" and "the influence of nationalistic members of the intelligentsia who are not party members on the leading political line in certain periodical publications."[23]

At a meeting on October 23, 1925, the Organizational Bureau of the Central Committee heard a report by Secretary of the Kazakh Krai Committee F. I. Goloshchekin entitled "On the Kazakh Press," in which he focused on the "stranglehold" the Alash Orda intelligentsia had on the republic's Kazakh-language press. The Organizational Bureau, expressing its "understanding" of the situation and the need to increase party control over the Kazakh press, instructed the Kazkraikom "to organize a Press Department under the Kazkraikom and staff it with as many trained workers as necessary."

"Having noted the inadequate editorial work in general political publications of Tsentroizdat [the Central Publishing House for Peoples of the Soviet Union] in the Kazakh language," the Organizational Bureau proposed that the Tsentroizdat board "a) release all its Kazakh-language publications only after meticulous political editing; b) relieve comrade Bukeikhanov of his duties as editor."[24]

23 AP RK, f. 141, op. 1, d. 377, l. 1.
24 Ibid., ll. 33–38.

It was prescribed by the Central Committee's Press Department that the "general principle is to preserve a single, mass-circulation peasants' newspaper for each *guberniia* [province]" and close all *uezd* (district) newspapers (with the exception of *Jŭmïsker Tílí*). The range of departmental publications was also to be reduced. The final list of periodicals to be available in the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR) was to be submitted for approval to the Press Department of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. The Press Department of the Kazkraikom of the Russian Communist Party was instructed in the space of two months to study the state of literature in the Kazakh language and submit a "special report to the Press Department of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)."[25]

By decision of the Kazkraikom Bureau dated June 10, 1925, the instructions given by Stalin and the Central Committee were accepted to be enacted and a circular was distributed among the provincial committees with recommendations on how to manage the national press and on procedures for using the national non-party intelligentsia in it. Local party organizations were instructed to step up the operations of their propaganda departments in support of control over local press.

All of this meant the chartering of a new course designed to force leaders and activists of the Alash movement out of public and political life. The realization of this course was accompanied, firstly, by purposefully and explicitly undermining the Alash Orda intelligentsia in the eyes of the Kazakh people by characterizing them as bourgeois, *bai*s and reactionary, and, secondly, by encouraging acceptance into the upper echelons of the party and administration those Kazakh nationals who were willing to tow the line set by Moscow. Thus was the foundation laid for a new phase in the political life of the people and their intelligentsia. Intellectuals, who until that time had expressed general national and democratic interests, now had to hand over that function to party officials and Soviet nomenklatura, whose role was to fulfill Moscow's directives.

In order to at first isolate, and then eliminate altogether the thin layer of pre-revolutionary national intelligentsia, the Soviet leadership chose a

25 Ibid., l. 38.

sophisticated method through which to punish it. In the decisions of the party congresses and conferences the important role of the small number of national intelligentsia was openly acknowledged, while in practice the policy was to squeeze the most active members out of public life. In their directives the Bolshevik leadership always noted that it saw better than anyone the internal problems in Kazakh life and therefore was in a position to solve them without the involvement of any "bourgeois intellectuals."

As early as the first years of the 1920s the central leadership began a course aimed at preventing any manifestations of "local separatism," taking resolute steps to allow the Communist Party to take root and survive under local conditions and working to bring about uniform living conditions and social structures. At this time certain languages and cultures were already given preference over others. The necessary foundations for successful implementation of these policies were laid by the migration policy of the Stolypin government, and this was continued during the Soviet period. In 1925 the indigenous nation accounted for approximately 58 percent of the republic's total population, compared to 81.7 percent in 1897.[26]

Around the same time the Communist Party's national policy moved away from the principle of self-determination in the structuring of the state, and the idea of social equality became noticeably dominant over the idea of freedom. In party documents statements of the following ilk became widespread: " . . . national problems can be solved only in the course of building socialism, the building of socialism is possible on the basis of close economic and political ties with the entire Union, the latter being a possibility only together with solution of the main problems in building socialism throughout the USSR."[27]

26 N. V. Alekseenko and A. N. Alekseenko, *Naselenie Kazakhstana za 100 let (1898–1997 gg.)* (Ust-Kamenogorsk, 1999), pp. 61–63; *Ana Tílí* 1 (1991).

27 *Partiinoe stroitel'stvo v Kazakhstane: Sbornik rechei i statei (1925–1930 gg.)* (Moscow and Alma-Ata, 1930), p. 150.

Goloshchekin's Assault on the Kazakh Elite

Goloshchekin, appointed to the post of First Secretary of the party's Krai Committee in 1925, in a letter to I. Stalin outlining the main tasks involved in state-building in Kazakhstan and confirming the commitment of the republic's leaders to that course, noted that "in all oblasts before the Fifth conference [in December 1925] building was underway, without affecting the *aul*s [nomadic settlements], and aimed at tackling national issues, without concerning class issues within the nation."[28]

It should also be noted that Goloshchekin and other henchmen sent from Moscow who strove for absolute power in the republic did not identify in any way the word "Kazakhstan" with the concept of an autonomous state. As the first leaders of the krai party organization, they acted for the most part as the fulfillers of various directives from Moscow and the party's General Secretary. Goloshchekin, for example, at a meeting of the Bureau challenged the sentence "Approving the political line of the Kazkraikom" in a draft resolution, stating, "I will categorically oppose this sentence. . . . I hold that the political line is the line of the party's Central Committee. We do not have our own political line."[29]

Of course this outburst was not accidental, but most likely the fundamental position of a political officer fully and completely dependent on the party leadership in Moscow. Therefore it would be wrong to talk of any special position of the Kazkraikom during this period regarding any particular major problems. After Goloshchekin took over, the Kazakh krai party organization not only became compliant and a "reliable" part of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) organization, but successfully turned into a state structure, taking over all other forms of government administration.

Goloshchekin's lack of concern for the interests of the Kazakh republic could also be seen when it came to territorial issues. In 1925 the Presidium of the All-Union Central Executive Committee decided, without discussing the matter with the Central Executive Committee of the Kazakh ASSR, to transfer the Ilek district of the Aktyubinsk province to the

28 Ibid., p. 152.

29 AP RK, f. 141, op. 1, d. 8, l. 532ob.

Orenburg province of the RSFSR. The numerical predominance of Russians among the region's population was cited as grounds for the decision. The matter was a topic of intense debate at a meeting of the Kazkraikom Bureau. The All-Union Central Executive Committee's decision was harshly criticized by the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Kazakh ASSR N. Nurmakov, the chairman of the Kazakh Central Executive Committee Zh. Mynbaev, member of the Kazkraikom Bureau S. Khodzhanov and others. Nurmakov noted, "this decision is tantamount to eliminating the Kazakh republic on the basis of its national composition, for the day when the ethnic European population reaches 70 percent is not far off, given the current rate of resettlement."

In response to Goloshchekin's assertion that in dealing with this issue not only considerations of nationality, but economic factors should be taken into account, Khodzhanov declared: "We cannot side with the viewpoint that national considerations are of no significance here. The situation in our republic is such that the question of nationality is of extraordinary importance . . . Now, to all appearances, there has been a certain move towards increasing resettlement. Mass resettlement to Siberia is becoming an official strategy. The Siberian settlers, having done a circle, end up here. Twelve thousand wagons have already been registered. I am of the view that this question should be considered from the standpoint of ensuring the preservation and further strengthening of the Kazakh republic as a state, not as a krai or region within Russia . . . therefore I suggest that this question be considered in detail from the standpoint of . . . preserving the Kazakh republic as a viable state, and not let it slip through the hands as certain comrades would be disposed . . . "[30]

Thus, within the first days of arriving in Kazakhstan, Goloshchekin behaved as a representative of Moscow, not as the leader of an autonomous republic within the Russian Federation. Accordingly, the fight against "regionalism and Kazakh nationalism" would become one of his main concerns. Goloshchekin began the assault on "Kazakh nationalism" by removing from the highest ranks of the republic's leadership those officials who had the greatest influence on public opinion and who,

30 Ibid.

being independent from Moscow and its representative, could resist their course.

From the very beginning of his time in Kazakhstan Goloshchekin alleged there was a certain "August alliance" that opposed his appointment as leader of the krai party organization. He purported that the alliance was headed by the second secretary of the Communist Party Krai Committee, Sultanbek Khodzhanov, with people's commissar of education Smagul Sadvokasov and the chairman of the Kazakh Central Executive Committee Zhalau Mynbaev also being among its supposed members. In actual fact there never was any anti-Goloshchekin alliance. Goloshchekin had to circulate such a rumor to justify his actions against these people in the republican government.

Among the republic's leaders, second secretary of the Communist Party Krai Committee Sultanbek Khodzhanov, a strong-willed advocate of decolonization, stood out in particular, having risen to prominence during the period of land and water reforms in Turkestan in 1921–1922 and held in deserved esteem by the people. A month after arriving in Kazakhstan Goloshchekin was to have Khodzhanov relieved of his office and reassigned to the Communist Party Central Committee in Moscow. His place would be taken by N. I. Ezhov, who would eventually move to Moscow to become director of the NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) of the USSR. Khodzhanov himself, of course, understood full well the meaning of the reassignment. At the meeting of the Kazkraikom Bureau at which he was told of the Central Committee's decision he said: "I was not summoned to Moscow to get things done, of course, but to not get things done."[31]

Having gotten his staunchest opponent called to Moscow, Goloshchekin at the same time requested that the Communist Party Central Committee send "some senior party, administrative and economic policy officials" to Kazakhstan. Notifying the Kazkraikom Bureau of this he said, "one comrade has already been assigned to our command. This is comrade Vakhmanov, the head of the organizational committee from Nizhny Novgorod. I requested another person as well, but a decision has yet to be taken." Regarding this matter the following was resolved:

31 AP RK, f. 141, op. 1, d. 18, l. 231.

- The question of the posting of other officials (comrades Lur'e, Piatkin and Smirnov) to Kazakhstan shall be referred to the Secretariat for consideration so that the Secretariat can make a decision within one week;
- It shall be proposed to the Moscow Party Committee that at least three party officials be allocated for Kazakhstan.[32]

All these proposals had been considered and approved at a meeting of the Central Committee Politburo the middle of October 1925, and the Kazkraikom was duly notified by telegram. Thus the Central Committee, having received an inspector in the person of Khodzhanov, in exchange sent to Kazakhstan several officials from the "proletarian center" that was Moscow. This was not the only such case: in the second half of the 1920s T. Ryskulov, A. Dosov, S. Asfendiarov, S. Sadvokasov, N. Nurmakov and other high-profile public figures in Kazakhstan were sent to Moscow on various grounds to work in a range of institutions. Dozens of "senior officials" were sent from Russia in exchange.

Having prevented Khodzhanov from engaging in further political activity in Kazakhstan, Goloshchekin turned his attacks to Smagul Sadvokasov, a member of the Kazkraikom Bureau of the Communist Party, people's commissar of education and editor-in-chief of the republic newspaper *Engbekshí Qazaq*. Sadvokasov condemned vocally and in his writings Goloshchekin's idea of a "little October,"[33] sharply criticized the pace of indigenization (*korenizatsiia*) policy in the state apparatus, the Bolshevist method of confiscating property from Kazakh *bai*s, and the focus on raw resources in industrializing the republic's economy. At the third krai conference Sadvokasov proposed a course diametrically opposed to that advanced by the Communist Party Central Committee and Kazkraikom with respect to expropriation of assets of the propertied classes. He noted in particular that in Kazakhstan the poor suffer most from a lack of work opportunities and a shortage of land, work tools and equipment, "and not due to anyone exploiting them." "Give Kazakh a

32 Ibid., l. 230.

33 F. Goloshchekin in one of his keynote speeches said, "there must be a little October for Kazakhstan." He reckoned the Russian *kulak*s had already been weakened and humbled by then, and that going after the Kazakh *bai* was not enough. So a mini-October revolution in the Kazakh *aul*s was what was needed. In other words, Goloshchekin was advocating civil war in the *aul*s.

horse, hay, a scythe," he said, "make it so that his farm is sustainable and it will be a hundred times more benefit than simply distributing what there already is. The idea of distribution of what there already is essentially an extremely dangerous idea, for distributing what there already is has an inherently consumerist aspect. Give a poor man a cow today, tomorrow he slaughters and eats it, and another day he may ask for another one, and if there isn't another one then we're left with nothing. . . . Today it's not some shock the country is waiting for, but constructive and peaceful work. And it is not new expropriations that will save it, but work and science."[34]

Regarding the idea of confiscating the property of the *bai*s, Sadvokasov suggested not getting carried away with the extremely political side of the issue but implementing a flexible tax policy so as to draw their money into cooperative endeavors, the construction of social welfare infrastructure and so forth. Sadvokasov's criticism of the Communist Party line in this respect was regarded as upholding the interests of the propertied classes, and he was dubbed the "*bai*s' ideologue."

There were also disagreements between Sadvokasov and Moscow regarding the nature of industrialization. In the open press Sadvokasov condemned the position held by those who wanted to turn Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics exclusively into suppliers of raw materials for the industrially developed central regions of the Soviet Union. "Whereas the imperialistic Russian bourgeoisie would only take strip raw materials from outlying regions while planting numerous factories and industrial works in their own backyard," he noted, "socialist industry should develop according to the principle of economic expediency."[35]

In 1927 the newspaper *Pravda Vostoka* published an article entitled "The General Line" by chairman Zelenskii of the Central Asian bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in which the author criticized local "nationalists" and "backers of the idea of a closed economy."[36] Responding to Zelenskii's indictments, Sadvokasov wrote: "Firstly, comrade Zelenskii's allegation that there is some trend (read: among the [non-Russian] nationals) supporting the

34 AP RK, f. 141, op. 1, d. 485, ll. 25–26.

35 S. Sadvokasov, *Izbrannoe* (Almaty, 1994), p. 74.

36 *Pravda Vostoka*, October 7, 1927.

establishment of a closed economy in each republic (a laughable idea) is wrong, and secondly, according to what theory does it follow that taking cotton out of Central Asia is a good thing, while taking textiles is a sign of a closed economy. It doesn't work like that, comrade Zelenskii. In fact, from the standpoint of economic expediency, industry should be situated as close as possible to the sources of raw materials.

Here the objection may be presented to us that setting up industry in a region requires not only raw materials, but working hands and fuel.

The answer to that is the millions of poor in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, and the billions in reserves of coal and oil in Kazakhstan.

They could also claim yes, that's all very well, but there are no railroads in Central Asia. To that it may be answered that in our time railroads are built with people's hands, and railroad construction is also a part of industrialization.

Therefore, 'economically' speaking, everything goes against comrade Zelenskii."[37]

To finally put an end to "Kazakh nationalism" amongst the republic's leaders Goloshchekin held the Third Plenary Session of the Kazkraikom, where the group of S. Khodzhanov, S. Sadvokasov and Zh. Mynbaev was named on the agenda. They were accused of nationalism and of ideological ties to the Alash Orda intelligentsia. In his closing speech at the session Goloshchekin said "there are two types of Alash Orda members: old leaders and a new generation of Alash Orda. There is a major difference between them. I believe that if we take the old Alash Orda members, they have something that lies in the past. In the past they were, in Kazakh terms, Kazakh revolutionaries in the making—bourgeois revolutionaries. The younger don't have that. They are more malevolence. They grew up fighting Soviet authority."[38]

As it became clear from the speeches by Kazakh party members at the plenary session, under pressure from the emerging totalitarian regime seeking to create a national ruling elite noticeable changes were occurring; a large portion of them were adapting to the demands of the com-

37 Sadvokasov, *Izbrannoe*, pp. 74–75.

38 *Vnutripartiinye voprosy na 3-m Plenume Kazakhskogo Kraikoma VKP (b)* (Kzyl-Orda, 1927), p. 162.

mand-administrative system and championing Moscow's policies in Kazakhstan.

Having tasted victory at the Third Plenary Session of the Kazkraikom over the "members of the opposition" sitting on the bureau, Goloshchekin expanded the scope of the offensive front to "dissenters" among the republic's leadership. The use of openly retributive measures against opponents became the norm for him, and the republic's law-enforcement agencies rendered every possible assistance. Punitive measures were taken by the Krai Control Commission, which was led primarily by Russians (for example, Morozov, Titov and others). While the republic was under Goloshchekin's leadership there was full cooperation between the Communist Party Krai Committee and the authorized representative of the OGPU in Kazakhstan throughout the spectrum of political life, particularly in work with the national intelligentsia. It is interesting to note that during these years not a single Kazakh was among the first directors of the OGPU in the republic.

As is common knowledge, the concentration of all power in the hands of Communist party structures was a key aspect of the USSR's transition a totalitarian regime. Goloshchekin expended no small effort ensuring this process was completed successfully in Kazakhstan. However, the party's rise to power was not without considerable difficulties, accompanied as it was by clashes between Soviet and Communist party structures on various levels. Here the most obvious reasons for the conflict can be identified. Firstly, striving to consolidate power, Communist party structures at the republic, province and district levels began to force the Soviet authorities into a lesser role, which naturally led to retaliation by the latter. Secondly, all across Kazakhstan, Russians or persons of other European lineage were appointed to the posts of first secretaries of the Communist party's provincial committees, while the chairmen of the executive committees of provincial Soviets were mostly Kazakh. Against a backdrop of the party's growing influence in society, this situation gave rise to various talk and rumor among the ruling elite regarding the nature of political power in Kazakhstan. The power struggle between the Soviets and party structures was particularly evident in relations between the chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Kazakh ASSR Mynbaev and first secretary of the Communist Party

Krai Committee Goloshchekin. Mynbaev's efforts to secure a leading role for the Soviets in administration of the republic were viewed by the first secretary of the Communist Party Krai Committee as pitting the Soviets against the party structures.

The confrontation between party and Soviet structures could also be quite clearly seen on the provincial level. A typical example was the so-called "Syr Darya affair." The disagreement, which would escalate into a confrontation, between first secretary Fimin of the Syr Darya provincial Communist party committee and chairman I. Mustambaev of the provincial executive committee, arose due to their differing views regarding the Communist party's indigenization policy and Soviet administration of the province, yet again confirmed Goloshchekin's resolve to strengthen the position of the Communist party structures. The conflict ended with Mustambaev being relieved of office and subjected to political persecution. He was accused of being a member of Sadvokasov's group and was linked to Trotskyists. Certain personal motives also played a role here. Goloshchekin, vindictive by nature, never forgave Mustambaev for the harsh criticism he had directed towards the former. Below is an extract from the stenograph from Mustambaev's interrogation on March 27, 1928, by chairman Titov of the Krai Control Commission.

> Titov: Mustambaev, can you specify which particular facts in Kazakhstani life compelled you to you declare there is something wrong with our inner regime?
>
> Mustambaev: As regards the party regime on the Kazakh scale I can say that the leadership is one-sided, and this view is not only in connection with the opposition. I still have the same opinion now—after the opposition and without any opposition. It is there without any connection to the opposition whatsoever, and I believe that we have one-sided leadership in Kazakhstan.
>
> Titov: In what is this manifested?
>
> Mustambaev: What do you mean "in what is this manifested?" In the orientation towards certain officials, their being listened to in priority. Then repressive measures against all other active Kazakh functionaries who might have sound ideas or who might be mistaken, but they are persecuted unduly. And I continue to have that impression.

. . . Titov: So Goloshchekin is not leading the right way. But surely it's the Krai Committee, the Bureau, the Plenary Session that do the governing?

Mustambaev: If you say that Krai Committee Bureau is comprised of seven or eight people, I will answer you that these are only arithmetical data. But comrade Goloshchekin alone counts as almost the entire Krai Committee.

Titov: A dictator?

Mustambaev: Call it as you like. Perhaps a dictator, perhaps such a strong comrade and party worker that the others pale in comparison, find themselves subordinate to his influence and so forth. But in any case it is my subjective opinion that the entire Krai Committee consists of comrade Goloshchekin.[39]

Mustambaev was expelled from the party. His request to the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) that he be reinstated as a party member and assigned to work in a different capacity in some other republic of the Soviet Union fell on deaf ears.

The chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (i.e., the government) of the republic, Nygmet Nurmakov, spoke out against the emasculating role of the Soviet structures. Speaking before the Krai Committee Bureau he said: "our Soviet structures are completely being supplanted by the party structures. This has been the case and is now the case. I have told this to comrade Goloshchekin many times. I have sometimes objected to making the work of the Soviet structures too innocuous, and turning the leadership into wardship."[40]

The disagreement between Goloshchekin and Nurmakov reached its apogee at the Meeting of the Central Committee Politburo of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), where the question of confiscation of property belonging to the Kazakh *bai*s was discussed. Nurmakov gave a rather well-argued speech against confiscation. For a time he had been left in place as leader of the republic government, but had been deprived of decisive influence when it came to the most important matters. And in 1929, after a campaign of confiscating the *bais*' property was completed, Nurmakov was relieved of office and by decision of the Communist party Central Committee was sent to work in the admini-

39 AP RK, f. 141, op. 1, d. 2409, ll. 70–73.

40 Ibid., d. 1649, ll. 6–59.

stration of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee in Moscow.

And with Nurmakov's departure the republic leadership underwent substantial changes. It became virtually the way that Goloshchekin wanted it to be: obedient. S. Khodzhanov, Zh. Mynbaev, S. Sadvokasov and N. Nurmakov, free and bold thinkers with an independent disposition, were replaced by E. Ernazarov (chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Kazakh ASSR), U. Isaev (chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the republic), I. Kuramysov (second secretary of the Communist Party Krai Committee)—public figures with the opposite qualities who would allow Moscow and Goloshchekin to bring the "grandiose" experiments of the Bolsheviks to the Kazakh *aul*.

OGPU Eliminates the Alash Intelligentsia

Having removed almost all opponents from among the republic's leadership, Goloshchekin essentially continued on the direct route to his cherished goal. Now he could turn his attentions and tackle headlong the Alash Orda intelligentsia who were so despised by him and by Moscow.

In October 1927 inside an OGPU torture chamber in Kzyl-Orda one of the active figures in the Alash Orda, Eldes Omarov, was subjected to intensive interrogation. The reason for his arrest, to all appearances, was the fact that he had invited the movement's leader, Alikhan Bukeikhanov to a retreat on the Buzanov farm, located in the Chelyabinsk district of the Russian Federation, where there were more than 30 Kazakh households.

Judging from the text of the interrogation reports of E. Omarov, it can be surmised that the OGPU investigators were interested first and foremost in:

1. Alash Orda members' position on the question of land;
2. Their position on the Trotskyist opposition and their possible ties to them;
3. Their level of political organization.[41]

Omarov's interrogation, however, did not yield the desired results.

41 Arkhiv Komiteta Natsional'noi Bezopasnosti Respubliki Kazakhstan (Arkhiv KNB RK), d. no. 78754, arkh. no. 124, t. 2, ll. 1–4, 7–7ob.

No serious arguments were discovered that could be used to justify repressive measures.

The transition to such measures against the Alash Orda intelligentsia began at about the same time as the confiscation of property from the major *bai*s, which was authorized by a decree of the Central Executive Committee of the Kazakh ASSR dated August 27, 1928. The authorities, perceiving the Alash Orda as a potential catalyst for opposition and organizer of a popular movement, preferred to keep its members imprisoned. On October 16, 1928, in the city of Semipalatinsk agents from the GPU arrested Khalel Gabbasov, a member of the Board of Gosplan of the republic and a former member of the Alash Orda government. He was charged with "activity, the purpose of which is to counteract and disrupt the campaign of confiscating *bai* property, authorized by decree of the Central Executive Committee of the Kazakh ASSR of 27/VIII of this year, that is, of a crime envisaged under Article 58/13 of the Criminal Code (1926 ed.)." At the end of the document, in Gabbasov hand, is written: "This decree has proclaimed to me. I do not acknowledge any guilt on my part. [Signature]"[42]

It should be noted that the materials on Gabbasov's interrogation also could not serve as grounds for carrying out mass arrests of Alash members. Such a chance would only come with the arrest of Dinmukhamed Adilev, drama theatre director and former Alash movement activist. In the course of his interrogation, which began in December 1928, the OGPU investigators got Adilev to give evidence that could be used as a basis to fabricate a case of counter-revolutionary activity by the Alash Orda in Soviet times. The case is built on suspect and contradictory evidence of the existence of underground counter-revolutionary organizations comprised of former Alash Orda members in 1921. This completely groundless evidence given by Adilev served as the basis for imprisoning 44 people, chiefly leaders and activists of the Alash movement. These included such well-known figures in the fields of science and culture as A. Baitursunov, M. Dulatov, Kh. Gabbasov, Zh. Aimautov, M. Zhumabaev, M. Ispulov and others.

There were two stages to the investigation in which these 44 were

42 Ibid., l. 329.

named. During the first stage, from October 1928 to July 1929, the investigation was based in Kzyl-Orda and Almaty, while at the second stage, from July 1929 onwards, it was carried out in Moscow. With the exception of Adilev, all 43 under investigation were sent Butyrka prison to under tight security. Regarding Adilev, in an accompanying letter it is written, "We are not sending you the accused Adilev as we consider his evidence to be comprehensive."[43] It was the organizers' intention that the process of transferring the Alash Orda cases to Moscow would create the appearance of objectivity of the proceedings. However, the proceedings in Almaty and in Moscow were both of a pronounced political character.

What is more, flagrant violations of the Criminal Procedure Code were committed in the course of proceedings: the investigation had been launched without a corresponding decree being issued on institution of criminal proceedings and it had been carried out with an incriminatory bias. All of the accused had been arrested without sufficient grounds and without any authorization from a public prosecutor. And most importantly, the investigation never proved that any counter-revolutionary organization existed among the Alash Orda intelligentsia, and no information was provided about its platform, regulations, objectives or the actions to achieve them. Upon completion of the investigation the accused were never given the opportunity to examine the materials and were deprived of the right to a defense. The case, such as it was and without any pronouncement by anyone of any formal indictment, was passed on to a non-judicial body that handed down a "sentence in absentia."[44]

By decree of the collegium of the OGPU of the USSR dated April 4, 1930, 13 of the 44 on trial were sentenced to be executed by shooting, seven received death sentences that were commuted to ten years in a concentration camp, another seven received a ten-year sentence in a concentration camp, and fifteen—imprisonment for terms ranging from three to six years. Two of the accused died during the course of the investigation.[45]

In January 1931 the OGPU collegium revisited its decree of April 4,

43 Ibid., t. 3, l. 130.

44 See the protest of the Prosecutor's Office of the Kazakh SSR no. 13/54zh–88 of October 19, 1988. Ibid, t. 2, ll. 118–125.

45 Arkhiv KNB RK, d. no. 78754, arkh. no. 124, t. 6, ll. 242–278, 285–285ob.

1930, and found that the accused's sentences could be "mitigated." As a result, 28 of them were exonerated. The sentence that four of them be shot (Baitursunov, Dulatov, Ispolov and Beremzhanov) was commuted to a ten-year term of imprisonment in a concentration camp. To date the circumstances surrounding the pronouncement of death sentence to Zh. Aimautov, A. Baidildin, D. Adilev and A. Yusupov remain unclear.

Having "successfully" dealt with the first group of Alash Orda, Goloshchekin instructs the relevant authorities to press on without delay to finally crush the Alash movement. In September and October 1930 the OGPU carries out a second wave of repressive measures against Alash Orda activists. By November 20 of the same year the cells of the OGPU's Almaty prison were filled with about 40 people being held in case No. 2370 against Kazakh nationalists. Among these were M. Tynyshpaev, Kh. Dosmukhamedov, Zh. Dosmukhamedov, A. Ermekov, M. Auezov, Zh. Akpaev, K. Kemengerov and other well-known figures. The charges brought against them were more or less the same as those against the previous group. The bill of indictment attributes to them "activity, the purpose of which is to misrepresent and disrupt Soviet campaigns and measures in Kazakhstan relating to land regulation, confiscation of *bai* property, agricultural collectivization, state purchases of livestock and meat; aspiring to make use of senior Soviet officials to this end; and preparing an armed uprising against the Soviet government with the intention of overthrowing it."[46]

Unlike the first group, the investigation in case No. 2370 on Kazakh nationalists was conducted in Almaty from start to finish, and the involvement of OGPU headquarters in Moscow was limited to determining the final penalties to be imposed on the persons on trial. Yet again, however, the interrogation of the accused was both contemptuous and prejudicial. The accused were left to languish in OGPU prison cells for months without being interrogated or any specific charges being brought. Finally, having spent just under a year in detention, 20 of them were released and the investigation into them was closed "due to insufficiency of evidence collected in the case."

The indictment against the remaining twenty named was passed on to

46 Ibid., d. no. 2370, arkh. no. 6610, t. 4, ll. 185–226.

a Troika[47] under the OGPU's authorized representative in Kazakhstan. In its turn, the Troika by its decree dated April 20, 1932, sentenced 15 of them to five years in a concentration camp, commuted to deportation to the Central Chernozem (Black-Earth) Oblast for the same term. These included M. Tynyshpaev, Kh. Dosmukhamedov, M. Murzin, Zh. Akpaev, S. Kadyrbaev, Zh. Dosmukhamedov, K. Kemengerov, Zh. Kuderin, Zh. Tleulin and others. A. Ermekov and M. Auezov were given suspended sentences of three years in a concentration camp. The remaining three (B. Suleev, B. Omarov and D. Iskakov) were released in light of the time they had already spent in detention prior to trial.[48]

It should be noted that a draft of this decree had been sent earlier for approval to the collegium of the OGPU of the USSR. The groundlessness of the charges against the accused described therein was so obvious that even all-powerful Moscow could not approve the proposal of the OGPU authorized representative in Kazakhstan. The authorized representative OGPU prosecutor Katanian, in official correspondence addressed to prosecutor Stolbova, who oversaw the OGPU authorized representative in the Kazakh ASSR, wrote: " . . . scrutiny of the case demonstrates that, despite the fact the investigation lasted one and a half years, it cannot be heard on its merits by the collegium for the following reasons:

1. The organizational and guiding role of the accused in political banditism in Kazakhstan has not been proven, just as no link has been established between the accused, as the main counter-revolutionary organization, and the bandit parties themselves;
2. The charges are principally based on the accused's counter-revolutionary past in 1918–1922, whereas the case material relating to recent years gives no suggestion of any revival of their past counter-revolutionary activities and rather may be seen as only evidencing nationalistic views."[49]

This was essentially an instruction to close the case owing to the absence of corpus delicti. However, Goloshchekin and the OGPU's authorized representative in Kazakhstan Karutskii were not satisfied with

47 A non-judicial commission consisting of three members used to deal with anti-Soviet elements (translator's note).

48 Arkhiv KNB RK, d. no. 2370, arkh. no. 6610, t. 4, ll. 263–263ob.

49 Ibid., ll. 266–266ob.

Moscow's position, sensing in it the beginnings of a political scandal. In an express telegram dated April 4, 1932, to deputy chairman Akulov of the all-Union OGPU, which was signed by Karutskii's deputies, Fel'dman and Mironov, they advanced the following counter-arguments:

> "Further investigation in the case of the nationalists will not yield any real results. Their release will give momentum to the counter-revolutionary nationalist element, give rise to a new wave of attacks on the Krai leadership and OGPU structures. Based on this and on the political situation in the Krai at this time, we request authorization to consider the case at an assize of the OGPU collegium with the purpose of deporting the accused from Kazakhstan for various periods.
> We await your response with urgency. No. 1145."[50]

Moscow was accommodating. The assize of the OGPU collegium, the members of which were Sol'ts, Fel'dman and Goloshchekin, "with due consideration for the political situation in the Krai and the harmfulness of indiscriminately releasing all the arrested parties in the case of the nationalists," upheld the aforementioned decree passed by the Troika under the OGPU's authorized representative in Kazakhstan. The authorities may have been new, but their methods were recognizable as the same. Moscow endorsed this decision of the OGPU's Kazakh branch, behind which stood Goloshchekin. The telegram sent in response from Moscow states: " . . . the measures intended to be taken in relation to the arrested parties are agreed. The destination for the deported shall be the Central Chernozem Oblast." The decision had to be implemented as quickly as possible.

And here is a detail that is crucial in order to fully understand the organizers' intentions. Karutskii's telegram to Moscow regarding the punitive measures to be taken with respect to the accused includes the following: " . . . Third: release Alimkhan Ermekov and Mukhtar Auezov, having imposed a conditional sentence in concentration camp and with consideration for their having declared their ideological disarmament, admitted their guilt and undertaken the commitment to work honestly." Goloshchekin pressed for "ideological disarmament" of the leaders of

50 Ibid., l. 320.

the entire liberation movement. Soon open letters of repentance by A. Ermekov and M. Auezov would appear in the Kazkraikom newspaper *Sovetskaia Step'*.

The accused, having read the indictment, maintained their innocence. Only A. Ermekov, M. Tynyshpaev and Kh. Dosmukhamedov confessed to being partly guilty as charged. On May 3, 1932, all fifteen of the deportees arrived in Voronezh to serve their punishment. Such were the chief results of the second wave of repression of the non-party Alash Orda intelligentsia.

And so the repression in the 1920s and the early 1930s affected almost all leaders and active participants of the national liberation movement. A. Bukeikhanov was the only one not to be taken into custody. One may speculate as to the reasons for this approach by the OGPU. Most likely in this way the organizers of this large-scale campaign tried to conceal their intentions. For all intents and purposes it constituted not just repression of non-party intelligentsia, but a definitive rout of the national liberation movement to an extent the Tsarist colonizers could not even have dreamt. The practically indiscriminate slaughter of Alash Orda intelligentsia in the late 1920s and early 1930s was a logical result of this dirty policy of ideologues in the senior Bolshevik ranks.

Tragic Consequences

Most terrible was not the fact that the pre-revolutionary national elite was destroyed, both in the literal sense and in terms of what they stood for, by the very government in which a long-suffering nation had placed its hopes. The real weight of the consequences of this tragedy lay elsewhere. The younger generation of Kazakhs that came after the Alash Orda saw clearly how the leadership in Moscow dealt with the generally acknowledged leaders of the liberation movement, how all the political experience they gained through the difficult circumstances of the Tsarist period was crushed and wiped out. The emerging generation of national elite in the Soviet Union sensed immediately the Damoclean sword of repression hanging above them, and understood that in order to work in Soviet state structures or the party administration they had to learn well

the rules of the game. Those who did not resign themselves to this but rather stood up for national interests would be subjected to political execution and accusations of having "nationalist leanings" or being "pan-Turkic" or "pan-Islamist." The party's ideological apparatus, on one hand crudely, with its intrinsic revolutionary enthusiasm, but also methodically and consistently implemented a policy of undermining all morally important and valuable gains made by that active first generation of the national intelligentsia. Thus the natural but fragile bond between generations was broken. And it was done to draw the nation's growing generation to the new Communist religion, a religion in which there was no place for national values.

The elimination of the Alash Orda intelligentsia allowed Moscow and Goloshchekin to carry out their wide-scale "experiments" in Kazakhstan unhindered. As is stated in the Findings of the Commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated December 7, 1992, "here a criminal attempt was made to realize the orthodox Marxist theorem regarding the 'possibility of transitioning backward peoples to socialism, bypassing capitalism,' when resulted in destruction of the traditional systems supporting Kazakhstan's ethnic groups, ultimately leading to a catastrophe unprecedented in history.

The scale of the tragedy was indeed so monstrous, we may label it with all due moral responsibility an attempt at genocide." Further in the Findings it is noted that this "statement derives from the strict rules of international law as set out in the international convention 'On the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide'."[51]

As a result of the confiscation of the farmsteads of major *bai*s (some 696), campaigns for state purchases of agricultural products and heavy-handed tax policies, reprisals against the peasants, the arbitrary and violent policy of forcing nomadic and semi-nomadic livestock farmers to

51 "Zakliuchenie Komissii Prezidiuma Verkhovnogo Soveta Respubliki Kazakhstan po izucheniiu postanovlenii KazTsIK i SNK KASSR ot 27 avgusta 1928 goda 'O konfiskatsii baiskikh khoziaistv,' ot 13 sentiabria 1928 goda 'Ob ugolovnoi otvetstvennosti za protivodeistviia konfiskatsii i vyseleniiu krupneishego i feodal'nogo baistva,' ot 19 fevralia 1930 goda 'O meropriiatiiakh po ukrepleniiu sotsialisticheskogo pereustroistva sel'skogo khozaistva v raionakh sploshnoi kollektivizatsii i po bor'be s kulachestvom i baistvom," *Kazakhstanskaia pravda*, December 22, 1992.

settle, and forced collectivization, Kazakhstan experienced a terrible famine in 1932–1933. Starvation, associated epidemics and a perpetually high rate of natural mortality resulted in the nation's population shrinking by 2.2 million people, i.e., roughly 49 percent of the total population.[52]

As was the case throughout the Soviet Union, the people in Kazakhstan had openly demonstrated their dissatisfaction, spilling over in a number of incidences to armed insurrections. In 1929–1931 there were 372 uprisings in Kazakhstan involving about 80,000 people. From the beginning of 1930 to the middle of 1931 alone some 1.13 million people left the country, 676,000 of whom never returned, while 454,000 eventually resettled in Kazakhstan. The regular military and OGPU structures carried out reprisals against the rebellious populace. In 1923–1931 some 5,551 people were convicted by the OGPU alone for taking part in major uprisings and unrest, 883 of whom were shot.

These brutal measures were also taken against those who in any way resisted, or were suspected of resisting, the policy of dispossessing the *kulak*s and *bai*s. Although the information is incomplete, over the five years from 1929 to 1933 some 9,805 cases went before the Troika under the OGPU's authorized representative in the Kazakh ASSR, resulting in 22,933 individuals being sentenced, of which 3,386 people were shot and 13,151 were sent to concentration camps for three to ten years. The decisions taken by the Troikas were confirmed by the krai and provincial party committees.[53]

Thus, the Communist Party Krai Committee, supported by Moscow, implemented policies of repression of the people in Kazakhstan during the period in question. In clashing with the dissenting national intelligentsia, the committee used the punitive measures available to state authorities to the fullest possible extent.

The systematic "battering" and purging of the national ranks—particularly the mass reprisals directed against the more sophisticated and active of them in 1937–1938—led to degeneration of the ruling elite, and in the postwar period a real "new Soviet generation" of leaders finally did emerge in Kazakhstan.

52 Ibid.
53 Ibid.

Thanks to their efforts, of all the Soviet republics Kazakhstan was considered the most reliable and loyal to Moscow, and in the post-Stalin period its leaders were particularly trusted in the Kremlin. When D. A. Kunaev was elected to the Central Committee Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, economic potential and the personal qualities of this distinguished man were primary considerations. But no less important was the faithful allegiance of the republic's ruling elite "to the ideas of socialism and internationalism."

The long years spent by several generations under the weight of the totalitarian regime extinguished or warped many inimitable features of the national elite. What is more, perennial treatment as apprentices led to an atrophied sense of self-esteem and fostered such qualities as the tendency to blindly follow others' experience, the inclination to take the well-trodden path and so forth.

(Translated from Russian by David Cassidy
and edited by Uyama Tomohiko)

7

Elza-Bair GUCHINOVA

Deportation of the Kalmyks (1943–1956): Stigmatized Ethnicity

The Kalmyks were among the fourteen ethnic groups punished by Stalin through deportation, beginning in 1943. Some of these deportations were timed to coincide with state festivals: the Balkar people were exiled on March 8 (International Women's Day) and the Chechen and Ingush on February 23 (the Day of the Soviet Army and Navy). Why was deportation of peoples linked to major festivals? It had become a tradition in the USSR that "the Party and the Working People" would try their best to have some important accomplishment to report by every major festivity, and punishment of so-called enemies of the people was one of the central tasks of many state establishments. The Kalmyks' exile was a present to Stalin, "the father of the peoples," for the 1944 New Year's celebration. In this article, I will show how the social status of the Kalmyks was reflected by its ethnic culture, and how such ethnic markers as food, language, holidays, choice of marriage partner and personal names were changing during this period.

Deportation

The operation of expelling Kalmyks was termed *Ulus*es. *Ulus*es are defined as "large regions," being main units of administrative division of the Kalmyk khanate in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, later

also of the Kalmyk Steppe in the Russian Empire. The Kalmyk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (KASSR) was also divided in *Ulus*es. On the other hand in the Kalmyk language *Ulus*es may also mean *peoples*. Removing Kalmyks to Siberia, the Soviet administration, by use of this symbolic name, stated its strategy: expel whole groups of people as punishment for disloyalty.

Not all operations of expelling peoples bore such expressive names. Similar to the operation of expelling Kalmyks, another portentous name was given to the expulsion of the Chechens and Ingush. This too had evident meaning, reflecting an openly cynical attitude of state repressive structures. In Russian, the term is *Chechevitsa* (lentil). Besides the obvious phonetic association with the word Chechen, another meaning is also evident: the administration regarded peoples as groats. Groats are a cheap foodstuff, which must be properly prepared before being consumed. Likewise, in the view of the colonial administration, Kalmyks and Chechens were not civilized enough and great effort was required on the part of the *elder brother*[1] in order for them to enter the shining palaces of socialism.

On December 27, 1943, M. I. Kalinin signed Decree No. 115/144 of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR entitled "On the liquidation of the Kalmyk ASSR and the formation of the Astrakhan oblast within the composition of the USSR." The decree formulates the basis of the punishment:

> In the period of occupation of the territory of the Kalmyk ASSR by German-Fascist invaders, many Kalmyks betrayed their Motherland, joined military detachments organized by the Germans for fighting against the Red Army, handed over to the Germans honest Soviet citizens, seized and handed over to the Germans livestock evacuated from collective farms in the Rostov oblast and the Ukraine, and, after the expulsion of the invaders by the Red Army, organized bands and actively opposed organs of Soviet power in the restoration of the economy destroyed by the Germans, perpetrated bandit raids on collective farms and terrorized the surrounding population.[2]

1 This traditionally denoted the Russian people.

2 V. B. Ubushaev, *Vyselenie i vozvrashchenie, 1943–1957* (Elista, 1991), p. 21.

The decree ordained that all Kalmyks residing on the territory of the Kalmyk ASSR were to be moved to other regions of the USSR and the Kalmyk ASSR was to be liquidated. Other points in the edict indicated a decision to divide the territory of the Kalmyk ASSR between the only recently created Astrakhan oblast, the Stalingrad oblast and the Stravrapol krai. This edict was not published, and neither was Resolution No. 1432–1425 of the Soviet of People's Commissars adopted on December 28, 1943 and signed by V. M. Molotov, in which the fate of the deported nation was determined. In accordance with the decree, all Kalmyks living in the Kalmyk ASSR were relocated to the Altai and Krasnoyarsk krai and the Omsk and Novosibirsk oblasts. Among them 25,000 went to the Altai krai, 25,000 to the Krasnoyarsk krai, 25,000 to the Omsk oblast and 20,000 to the Novosibirsk oblast. Moreover, many Kalmyks found themselves in different regions of the USSR: the Far East, Taimyr, Central Asia and Kazakhstan. For the most part the resettlement of the Kalmyks was carried out in villages where the economy was based on animal husbandry or fishing.[3]

Overall, nearly 120,000 Kalmyks were deported. On December 28, 1943, all residents of the republic who were Kalmyks by nationality were put into storage wagons heading east. A short time later, Kalmyks who lived in the Rostov and Stalingrad oblasts were deported. The Kalmyk district in the Rostov oblast was eliminated. In the spring of 1944, Kalmyks living in the Ordzhonikidze krai and Kizlyar district were also subjected to deportation.[4] As early as 1944, Lavrentii Beriia was in person reporting in the State Defense Committee to "comrade Stalin I. V. and comrade Molotov V. M.": "Altogether 26,359 families, or 93,139 people were loaded onto 46 railway trains."[5]

For the *Ulus*es operation NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) and NKGB (People's Commissariat for State Security) had directed 2,975 officers to the Kalmyk ASSR. For transportation, 1,255 vehicles had been provided by the transportation department of NKVD. The operation was carried out by the third motorized rifle regiment of the

3 Ibid., p. 22.

4 N. F. Bugai and A. M. Gonov, *Kavkaz: Narody v eshelonakh (20–60-e gody)* (Moscow, 1998), p. 182.

5 N. F. Bugai, *Operatsiia Ulusy* (Elista, 1991), p. 25.

internal troops of NKVD. These troops already had experience repressing the Karachai people.[6] The military had flooded the republic about two weeks before the scheduled operation. However, this had caused little alarm among the residents, and the majority, as one Kalmyk resident recalled, "believed the legend that soldiers had arrived for rest. How could we associate anything evil with the Red Army soldiers? After all our relatives, too, were serving in the Red Army."[7]

In ethnically mixed families, non-Kalmyk wives were offered a chance to divorce their husbands, and avoid sharing the fate of the Kalmyk people. Those who declined this opportunity were regarded as Kalmyks and expelled. They might also have been used in unqualified labor, getting fired from comparatively easy office work, when the fact of their marriage to a Kalmyk became known. Most being ethnically Russian, they were obliged to report to the commandant's office every month along with the Kalmyks.

Modern reminiscences reveal different troubles faced by different social and gender and age groups. Rural residents, often not knowing Russian, were scarcely aware of the extremity of the situation and did not take appropriate warm clothing with them. Urban residents often proved more adaptable, but the elderly from villages were most vulnerable. Adaptation was easiest for the children, who had someone to take care of them.

Kalmyks traditionally measured their wealth by the number of cattle in their possession. Those owning cattle also had food and other vital necessities. To be deprived of cattle, which was impossible to take into exile, meant losing one's livelihood, analogous today to one losing all of his or her financial savings. Of course, people had difficulties adjusting to these new, deprived conditions. Moreover, domestic animals were not just considered capital, but also live souls to be fed, cleaned, sheared, assisted when they give birth, pastured and loved. "Mournfully and sickly mooed cows, bleated sheep, whimpered camels—this cacophony drove dread into hearts, chill into blood, made hair stand on end."[8]

6 Ibid., p. 24.

7 G. S. Vasil'eva, "Nas okruzhali khoroshie liudi," in *My – iz vyslannykh navechno* (Elista, 2004), p. 329.

8 S. I. Shevenova and E.-B. Guchinova, eds., *Pamiat' v nasledstvo: Deportatsiia kalmykov v*

People were picked from their homes by trucks that took them to the nearest railway station. There, everybody was loaded onto cars normally used for transporting cattle. Witnesses recall that those trucks had been painted red. Leaving a lasting impression, folk songs today reference these red cars. The color red has many connotations and symbolic meanings. In this case, it represented Soviet power and the Communist Party, as well as blood. The red wagons carried people by the rule of the red power.

Normal seating capacity for these cars was 40 people. During the expulsions, however, sometimes they would carry 60 to 80 persons. Each car had one small stove, which often provided little protection from the cold, because of the cracks and holes in the walls and floors. One could prepare food on the stoves, but many had no kitchen utensils "even to melt snow in," and procured "tin cans served as cups, mugs and cooking pots." Cooking on this oven people had to hold the pots in the hands. "You couldn't let it go while moving, otherwise it would fall over."[9]

Corporality was an important parameter through which person perceived oneself among others. Oral narratives containing reference to corporal experiences usually associated them with ordeals, overcoming shame, and moving beyond old experiences. In the extreme situation of exile, prolonged in time, traditional corporal practices could not prevail. They had to adjust to new climatic and social conditions. Issues of personal hygiene were no longer confined to the private sphere and were dealt with by joint efforts.

Cattle cars provided no facilities. There were no lavatories; people had to urinate next to the wagon while the train was at a station. Many women, uncomfortable about urinating in the presence of men, would do so on the opposite side of the train, where they could be unseen. In order to move to the other side, however, it was necessary for them to crawl under the train. There were a number of fatalities as trains departing the station began to move, while the women were still underneath. The cold in the car was not just symbolic. It largely resulted because people did not know the method of lighting the stoves, knowledge

shkol'nykh sochineniiakh (St. Petersburg, 2005), p. 106.

9 E. Shamakov, "Shel tret'ii god voiny . . . : Rasskaz staroi kalmychki," in S. U. Alieva, ed., *Tak eto bylo: Natsional'nye repressii v SSSR*, tom 2 (Moscow, 1993), p. 47.

which was taken for granted by the organizers. People had been using pressed dung as fuel for their entire lives, and did not know how to put coal in the fire, which was furthermore often wet.

The *road* had been one of the central categories of Kalmyk culture, symbolizing nomadic mobility. For a long time it had been a metaphor of fate and life itself. But the railroad along which Kalmyks were being carried in 1943 was a different matter. This was a road symbolizing loss of liberty, the cattle trucks bearing a symbolic meaning. People were deprived of rights as if they were nothing more than cattle. According to their reminiscences, the hardest road was the one to Siberia. The railroad had changed all positive connotations a nomad associates with mobility. No one any longer expected anything good from the road. "What was going on in the wagon was terrible. This putrid smell surrounded us all the way." Later, people would call the years of deportation a road thirteen years long.

One characteristic of any ethnic group is its level of mobility. Even in Siberia, any movement looked like a return to a safe place for the former nomads, and the road was perceived as a means of escape, or rather, escape could be associated only with the road. I will mention later cases of escapes to the front from *Shiroklag*. However, there were cases of movement into even more difficult circumstances, for example, to Taimyr and Shpitsbergen, where Kalmyks were sent from Siberia. Sometimes the administration would direct one family into northern regions, and other Kalmyk families expressed a desire to go with them, believing that nothing could be worse than their current state, and the road might somehow lead them home. However, life in the polar regions proved even harsher and Kalmyks called this a second exile. For these people, waterways replaced the railroad, as they were carried along the Yenisey and Irtysh rivers and then the Arctic Ocean.

Early in 1944, by the decree of the People's Commissariat of Defense, Kalmyks were removed from all fronts and military districts. During 1944, more than fifteen thousand Kalmyks taking part in military action were demobilized.[10] Those serving in the army were recalled allegedly to take part in the creation of a Kalmyk national detachment in the Urals.

10 A. Pan'kin and V. Papuev, *Poezd pamiati* (Elista, 1994), p. 4.

All sergeants and soldiers, as well as students of military schools were enrolled in the sixth depot rifle regiment of the seventh depot rifle brigade, stationed at Kungur railway station of the Perm railroad, and sent to build the Shirokovskaia hydro-electric power station (GES). They totaled about seven thousand—those who had taken part in action, as well as students who had never been at the front.[11]

In the spring of 1944, commanders and political counselors of Kalmyk origin were assembled in Tashkent and Novosibirsk, where they were demobilized and sent to reunite with their families.

Soldiers and sergeants brought back from the fronts never had a chance to see their families; they were immediately targeted for penal servitude. Though officially named *Shirokstroi* (construction of the Shirokovskaia GES), actually this construction site was a concentration camp (*Shiroklag*) that comprised a part of the system of GULAG (Chief Directorate of Corrective Labour Camps and Colonies).

Protest against repression of the former front-line soldiers took the form of letters to Kremlin and attempted escapes to the front. "So great had been faith in the sacred task of defending Motherland, that Kalmyk soldiers fled to the front from *Shiroklag*, but were captured on the railway, recognized simply by their physical appearance."[12] There are numerous stories about former soldiers who got on trains going to the front and called themselves Kazakhs or Buryats. They fought until the end of war and came back to Siberia to reunite with their families, or were obliged to hide and escape again to the front for fear of punishment at labor camps.

Not everyone had been recalled from the front. Kalmyks were known as good soldiers in the Red Army. When in 1944 the order of recalling soldiers of Kalmyk nationality came, some commanders promptly changed the nationality of their soldiers and officers and in this way kept them at the front.[13] According to Kalmyk historian M. L. Kichikov, four thousand Kalmyks were still serving in the Red Army by the end of World War II.[14]

11 Bugai, *Operatsiia Ulusy*, p. 39.

12 A. Badmaev, "Sud'by moei . . . ," *Izvestiia Kalmykii*, December 27, 1991.

13 A. M. Nekrich, *Nakazannye narody* (New York: Khronika, 1978), p. 78.

14 M. L. Kichikov, "Sovetskaia Kalmykiia v Velikoi Otechestvennoi voine 1941–1945"

Adaptation Difficulties

Arriving Kalmyks were visibly distinct in their new locations. They were different not only by appearance. Many could not speak Russian, which impeded communication. The new arrivals were different culturally, often not possessing basic skills, even something as simple as lighting a stove. The difference were obvious for the Siberians from the beginning, as seen in the following two recollections:

> This was mid-winter, which as is well known never comes without severe frost. Now almost all the strangers were wearing light clothes, as if it had been early autumn. Some were dressed quite peculiarly. Much later I learned that they were wearing light clothes traditional in their culture. Their feet were covered lightly too, their boots were made of leather. Some were in high heels, others in simpler boots. This made a shocking contrast with the dress of locals, attracting attention. People were obviously fatigued by the journey they had made and hungry. They could barely stand upright.[15]

> In the winter of 1944, fifty to sixty Kalmyk families were brought into our village Kornilovo, Krasnoyarsk krai. Entire families perished due to the cold and famine. The frozen soil was so hard to dig, the dead bodies were often just left under snow hills. In the spring winds scattered dark black braids of hair around our village and corpses remained lying where they had been left. After some time [two or three months—E. G.] only one Kalmyk family had survived. . . .[16]

The first contacts the local population had with Kalmyks were at best cautious, and more often the newcomers were met with feelings of repulsion and even enmity.

Arriving Kalmyks were accompanied by rumors that they were cannibals. This scared the local inhabitants to such a degree that they felt drastic means were needed in order to protect themselves. One way to

(Dissertatsiia na soiskanie uchenoi stepeni doktora istoricheskikh nauk, Leningrad, 1972), p. 58, quoted in Nekrich, *Nakazannye narody*, p. 78.

15 B. S. Dobriakov, "My ne ponimali glubiny tragedii kalmytskogo naroda," in *My – iz vyslannykh*, p. 360.

16 "Ia slyshal stony i plach," *Izvestiia Kalmykii*, December 28, 1993.

do so was by nailing shut the door to the barrack where newcomers lived and set fire to the house, burning the inhabitant alive, justified by the perceived need to save themselves from the cannibals. In other villages, older men stayed on alert in turns the first nights after the arrival of the newcomers, armed with axes and rifles.

These terrifying rumors were probably circulated deliberately. Indeed they arrived before the Kalmyks themselves, reaching the most secluded places. This means they could not have been created spontaneously. Neither could they have been the product of twisted consciousness of the local population, as too frequently they emerged in numerous areas and villages of Siberia.

This accusation was not just a metaphor. This is a classical instance of colonial attitudes toward "barbarians," which are known to have once been instrumental in providing the early European settlers with the right to treat the local population in whatever manner they liked. Indeed, according to Freud, persons who have broken any of the three inhibitions—on murder, incest or cannibalism—are excluded from the human society as presenting a direct threat to it.

Deliberately or not, this same measure must have been used by the institutions, whose task was formulating ideological background of the *Ulus*es operation. Treason against the Motherland—an accusation essential for the Party and governmental documents—might have failed to arouse enmity toward Kalmyks among Siberian population, who had been used to welcoming prisoners and exiles of different kinds unwanted in St. Petersburg and Moscow. Siberia abounded in political exiles, who were not easily convinced by official propaganda, and had opinions of their own about the government's politics, which they kept to themselves. These people might on the contrary have entertained warm feelings toward Kalmyks, and support them in their tribulations. The victims of deportation were helpless elderly people, innocent babies and weak females; finding ways to discriminate against them was a daunting project. The accusations against them had to be simple and address directly everyone's feelings, and at the same time extremely grave as to defy any association with human sympathy. However, the myth of Kalmyks as narrow-eyed cannibals dissolved over time, as seen in this recollection:

> When they arrived, everyone in the village knew that cannibals were coming. There was one girl one class below me named Masha Ritter, a German girl. As soon as I went out into the street, she would make a great loop so as to avoid contact with me. Having grown a bit older, I asked her what had scared her. She answered that everyone had been told cannibals had arrived. One might consider Germans had been deported here in a similar manner in 1941, yet even they believed these stories.[17]

> At the time we arrived a lot of people were standing by the central office of the kolkhoz. I heard a woman utter, look they're just like us, only [non-Russian] nationals. And they told us, there would be one-eyed cannibals. My reaction was prompt, asking who had said we were one-eyed cannibals? The answer was: look! He can speak in our language!

> In connection with our arrival, the seven-year school was not functioning for almost a week. Parents had been reluctant to let kids out, because of rumors that Kalmyks were cannibals, which had caused people to dread our arrival. The deputy from the District department of people's education and local school director requested that I accompany them from home to home in the village telling people about us Kalmyks, that our fathers and brothers were fighting at the front, that we were normal people. The next day school classes resumed.[18]

> When we were brought to Aral'sk, a rumor had been spread that Kalmyks were cannibals. Talk was that a Kalmyk had been captured at the market trying to sell human flesh. How painful it was to hear this said of a people we belonged to. Besides I did not yet know Russian by that time. Iasha would call me a cannibal, to which I replied, not comprehending the meaning.[19]

However frantic, the accusation of cannibalism proved too absurd to continue for long. Moreover, although Siberians at first had been wary of direct contact, this obviously could not have been altogether avoided. Just as unavoidable was the eventual collapse of the cannibal myth. The local population soon abandoned its suspicions.

17 Interview with P. O. Godaev, Elista, 2004.
18 M. N. Natyrov, "Pravlenie kolkhoza mne doverialo," in *My – iz vyslannykh*, p. 214.
19 V. P. Dordzhiev, "Vernost' interesam naroda," in *My – iz vyslannykh*, p. 335.

Housing and Food During Times of Crisis

One of the important characteristics of an ethnic or social group is its type of dwelling. What kind of rooms, underground dwellings, houses or flats did Kalmyks use for their new homes? One's dwelling always reflects the social and economic status of the owner. For the exiles as well, it reflected status and degree of adaptation into the local society. The narratives cited below clearly outline shifts of the status of Kalmyks over the thirteen years of deportation, showing the progression from a corner they occupied in a stranger's house, to a tent on the ice, later to an underground dwelling, and then wooden houses, occupied by several families, they built for themselves.

Nevertheless, the memories of deportation are traumatic, and the most vivid images are those linked with stress, which is why the clearest recollections are of dwelling, clothes and food in extreme conditions. Everything associated with corporal conditions also remained in the memory for a long time: humidity, cold and poor lighting. A retrospective glance at the period of deportation brings to light everything that showed the difference between Kalmyks and local population, accentuating status of the exile. Regular food and regular dwelling, like those enjoyed by the local population, are mentioned in the narratives in case others possessed them, but Kalmyks did not. As soon as Kalmyks had the means to possess such things, regular food and dwelling were regarded as normal and are hardly mentioned by the recollecters.

As seen from the narratives, the easiest way for the administration proved to be the forced settlement of the deported into local Siberian families. Hence, first recollections were about corners in a stranger's house.

> We were to share dwelling with the main accountant of the kolkhoz named Ivan Sherstiuk. His family consisted of four persons. We stayed with them till spring. Me, my brother and my mother, granny, uncle Kyotyarya with his wife, aunt Halga and their son—seven in all. We occupied one room with not a single bed in it, we all slept on the floor, and I slept on a Siberian-type bench. Siberians instead of chairs used benches 30 cm wide, running along a

wall. I somehow managed to sleep on it not falling down.[20]

After several months passed (and for some of us immediately upon arrival) we had to see about accommodation on our own, making use of unoccupied houses, or digging dwellings in the ground after it had melted up after winter frost. Areas where Kalmyks' poorly arranged dwellings were concentrated must have been so strikingly different from the surroundings by their exotic poverty, that it earned them funny names marked with irony used both by local population and Kalmyks themselves, for instance *Khoton* (meaning small settlement of relatives in Kalmyk), *Dig-town* or *Kalmyk ASSR*.

After spending some time in the school building we were resettled into a deserted cellar, which had been used as a storage for vegetables. It was a wet, dark room, forty or fifty meters long. We had to stay there until almost autumn of 1944. Conditions were hardly suitable for even animals. One could only gaze with tears. I feel like weeping even now as I'm remembering. Many failed to carry on till spring. . . . In the summer adult men were organized into a group, which was dubbed *Dig-town*, to dig pits in the ground for dwelling about two meters deep, about 4–6 meters long and wide. Walls had been covered with clay from the inside, bottom of the pit being for the floor. They cut out steps to go in and out, as they do in a cellar, and made a small window in one side, constructed an oven in a corner. This all failed to bring about much light or warmth, but it always was wet there. These types of dwellings accommodated two or three families in each dwelling. Conditions were totally lacking in hygiene. When compared with the first half a year, there had hardly been any improvement in living conditions for us. People were often ill, cold and famine further aggravating the situation. Over that winter of 1944–1945 death took its toll. In our dwelling alone six people died: my sister Zoia, brother Volodia; out of the three members of the other family (wife, husband and husband's brother) death claimed all; there was also one soldier who had come from *Shiroklag*, never having a chance to find his family. It took three or four years before some were able to erect adobe houses and leave the underground dwellings. Still many others remained underground for as long as 7–8 years, and some until they were able to return to their homeland. That place was given the ironic name *Kalmyk ASSR*.[21]

20 Interview with P. O. Godaev, Elista, 2004.

21 A. S. Chenkaleeva, "Kopai-gorod," in *My – iz vyslannyh*, p. 41.

Even state officials, who had witnessed much suffering during their careers, wrote about the harsh conditions in which Kalmyks had to live. Ten months after arrival to the Tomsk oblast it was revealed that:

> Deported persons handed over to be used as working force at Tomsk wharf are housed in broken down buildings unsuitable for living in winter conditions, with walls and doors not equipped to protect from the cold, windows lacking glass panes, and ovens out of working order. Rooms are dirty, and extensively overcrowded. Through lack of furniture the deported have to eat and sleep on the floor.[22]

As stated in one report from the Novosibirsk oblast, the barrack of the Timiriazevsk mechanic station had only thirty-four square meters of living room, in which 148 people had to reside. This allocated less then 0.3 square meters per person, and people slept in two or three story plank beds. Another room of twenty-eight square meters was occupied by 131 people.[23]

What did Kalmyks eat? Fifty years later, survivors of those inhuman conditions remember eating potato peelings and corpses of animals killed by murrain.[24] NKVD reports registered "many cases of Kalmyks using corpses of dead horses and other animals for food, often in raw condition."[25]

Subsistence anthropology uses a notion of "crisis food," which becomes the main sustenance in extreme conditions. Normally, Kalmyks in times of crisis, such as lack of meat due to mass death of cattle, natural calamities and epidemics would adhere to the so-called Kalmyk tea as such "crisis food." In extreme conditions of deportation, they ate carrion as super-crisis food, having tried to somehow process it for eating. Many different things were eaten, even if it resembled food only remotely, the only objective being to somehow subdue constant feeling of hunger. See, for example, the following two recollections (the first rendered in the

22 "Soobshchenie zamestitelia narkoma vnutrennikh del SSSR Chernyshova narkomu rechnogo flota SSSR Z. Shashkovu...," in *Kniga pamiati: Ssylka kalmykov*, tom 1, kniga 1 (Elista, 1994), p. 176.

23 Ibid., p. 61.

24 "Eti gody – v pamiati nashei," *Izvestiia Kalmykii*, December 27, 1991.

25 "Dokladnaia zapiska komissara vnutrennikh del gosbezopasnosti SSSR 1-go ranga Merkulova," *Kniga pamiati,* tom 1, kniga 1, p. 150.

form of a poem):

> I will always remember that evening:
> Bucket amply filled with meat.
> Let it be dead animals' flesh
> Yet this was meat!
> Much better than nothing!
> These sheep corpses through all the winter
> We had been flaying together with Nadia Basan.
> Famine was killing animals in dozens
> But thanks to it Kalmyks survived![26]

> The town we had been brought to was called Aral'sk. We lived by the sea shore. . . . The sea gave us fish. We used also fish intestines dumped beyond the fish processing plant for food. Our compatriots lived under similar circumstances.[27]

The living conditions and subsistence of Kalmyks in the new places of settlement were a disaster. The deputy chief of NKVD Department in the Omsk oblast wrote the following, addressing L. Beriia: "As a result of the exceptionally poor foodstuffs supply, the cases of bodies swelling from starvation have reached great numbers among Kalmyks."[28] During the first winter people often ate potato peelings, having separated it from dirt, fried it on an oven. Many would stick to pomace cakes. Daily meal in Siberia was potato, in fishing settlements—fish, or rather fish heads, tails and giblets.

Afterwards, Kalmyk tea, which had been a traditional crisis food for Kalmyks, replaced dead animal flesh, the crisis food of the first months in exile. Easy to prepare, this tea had different variations, sometimes resembling tea, and sometimes soup. Kalmyk tea is usually made from special brick tea. During these extreme conditions, people used regular black tea or, in the absence of this, black currant leaves, apple tree leaves and different herbs. During war and the immediate post-war, Kalmyk tea was used as bait in markets by the NKVD, which was trying to capture Kalmyks who may have abandoned their residence area without

26 E. Budzhalov, *Dveri nastezh', kalmyki!* (Elista, 1997), p. 229.
27 V. Tserenov, "Bol' moia, Aral," *Izvestiia Kalmykii*, December 27, 1991.
28 Bugai, *Operatsiia Ulusy*, p. 57.

permission.[29]

The new life changed the types of subsistence of the Kalmyks, which could no longer be based on meat and milk products. They had to use those foodstuffs available in the new environment. Potatoes were the most common food available. N. Ubushiev recalled in 2001: "Now I can tell the taste of a potato by its appearance."[30] Yet elder people never appreciated the taste of local food—berries or mushrooms. "Us kids, we never cared what kind of meat we ate, but to old people it always had a wrong taste; they disliked everything."[31] This was similar to troubles experienced by interned Americans of Japanese origin during WWII, who were offered hominy and cheese, which they had never tested before. It seems that the experience of taste remains in one's memory for a long time. Thus many Japanese-Americans who had been interned still recall with feelings of humiliation going to eat by the bell, standing in a queue to get food which was always the same. Kalmyks were compelled to live on carrion in certain cases, while Japanese-Americans were depressed by lack of choice: canned sausages for breakfast, dinner and supper. Besides unlike Kalmyks, who were Soviet citizens, Japanese-Americans were hurt by the very fact of "free food," which they felt put them at the same level as beggars.[32]

Kalmyks were not offended by free food. Their wretched state in those years rendered impossible rejection of any kind of food, regardless of dubious quality, or even if it was stolen. Food meant life, survival for the next twenty-four hours. Potatoes were the main foodstuff, but many Kalmyks became used to eating fish, borsch, *shchi*, porridges, mushrooms, cedar nut, berries, and the eggs of wild ducks. Sour cabbage, salted cucumbers, and Siberian *pel'meni* have since become staple foods for Kalmyk families. But as soon as the famine was over, and life was returning to normal track, people attempted to return to traditional Kalmyk foodstuffs and drinks. According to reminiscences, some even went as far as distilling milk vodka at home, which required an exces-

29 Tserenov, "Bol' moia, Aral."

30 Interview with N. Ubushaev, Elista, 2001.

31 Interview with B. M. Kornusov, Elista, 2001.

32 TAKEZAWA Yasuko I., *Breaking the Silence: Redress and Japanese American Ethnicity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 87.

sive supply of milk. Of course, this was only possible in a compact Kalmyk settlement.

Occupations

During that period, Kalmyks had to acquire unusual skills, since new conditions made traditional occupations impossible. Out of the entire number of exiles, 45,985 Kalmyks were occupied in different spheres of the economy, such as agriculture (28,107 people), mining and gold mining (1,632), coal industry (784), paper production and wood processing (259), and other new occupations (8,608).[33]

Apart from hard toil from dawn to dark, where the person was employed was also important. The same job in a kolkhoz and a sovkhoz paid considerably differently. Those with previous experience as managers, knowing that, asked to work in state enterprises. Wood industry had been practically the only branch of economy of the USSR that yielded hard currency. For this reason, most exiles fit for the job were directed to wood cutting and processing. Women, who had never before been employed, had to do what the local administrations commanded, which was usually to fell wood. Many of the women who had taken their sewing machines with them into exile earned their living by sewing for local residents. An acquaintance of mine told me of her grandmother who, while in Siberia, would go into a village with the sewing machine, where for a week she sewed clothes for its residents, and then came back with a sack of food for the whole family. Sewing for local people as a means of providing for the family was not uncommon among Kalmyk women; they used to do the same in the White emigration after the October Revolution. Almost all the women who managed to take a sewing machine with them earned their living by sewing, and their families did not starve.

Of all the traditional skills for men and women, the most useful in the new circumstances proved to be experience with fishing and animal husbandry. More than three thousand families experienced in fishing were settled in areas with fishing industries, mostly in Krasnoyarsk and

33 Bugai, *Operatsiia Ulusy*, p. 83.

Taimyr. Other fishing kolkhozes employed Kalmyks as well. Their existing experience was completed by skills acquired in new economic and ecological conditions.

The Kalmyks' attitude to labor, often forced, differed from that of Chechens and Ingush, who were more defiant, expressing this in the form of not coming to work, or not working the way administration expected. For instance, in the small towns of Dzheksy and Esil', up to a quarter of Chechen adult men refused to work anywhere.[34] Kalmyks in Siberia, on the other hand, strove by diligent labor to prove their loyalty to the state. Their reminiscences always include mention of the standings they obtained in the various socialist labor contests, labor certificates they were awarded, and other awards for efficient labor they received. In answer to a question of how they spent their spare time, many would answer that they had none. Hard toil was the only way to make both ends meet. Kalmyks brought up in the steppe acquired in Siberia their first experience of growing vegetables for private households. Times of famine did not leave much choice, and Kalmyks picked up necessary agricultural skills and knowledge from their neighbors. This process was also backed up by the decision of the state, in an attempt to support the starving people, to launch among Kalmyks a "campaign of cultivating private orchards on the specially allocated pieces of ground. Thus, in the Novosibirsk oblast alone, 575 ha of private orchards were tilled in 1945, with 777 ha already in 1946."[35]

Shifts in socio-professional structure were already evident among Kalmyks even in those years. D. Purveev wrote in 1952: "Modern-day Kalmyks are different from those that you knew 10–15 years ago. They labor at large plants and factories, they use the railway, they work in highly mechanized sovkhozes, with machinery and tractors, and communicate with many Soviet nationalities. As a result they have become more widely educated, and their consciousness has grown. . . ."[36]

Among Kalmyk exiles were professionals with high education. Often they were the only professionals with the necessary qualification for cer-

34 M. Pol', " 'Neuzheli eti zemli nashei mogiloi stanut?': Chechentsy i ingushi v Kazakhstane (1944–1957 gg.)," *Diaspory* 2 (2002), p. 173.

35 Bugai, *Operatsiia Ulusy*, p. 50.

36 *Kniga pamiati*, tom 1, kniga 1, p. 205

tain tasks, and, for want of other specialists, they were trusted with responsible jobs. In secluded areas of Siberia many Kalmyks occupied positions of teachers in intermediate and eight-year education schools. One Kalmyk woman, who was a teacher in Ust'-Abakan school, recalls: "My students were mainly children of exiles: German, Baltic, Western Ukrainians and Belorussians."[37]

Unlike many of the deported Chechens and Ingush, who tried to avoid integration in the Soviet society by not registering their newly born, later not sending them to school, and the inclination of the young to not become Komsomol members,[38] practically all Kalmyks were doing their best not "to lag behind" the rest of the Soviet people. They maintained friendly relationships with their new neighbors, fellow-workers, and classmates, celebrated holidays and took part in amateur concerts and other social activities. In this strategy of integration through over-effort they resembled Japanese-Americans who strove to prove their loyalty to the mainstream society through over-diligence and responsibility.

Modes of Restriction

According to many reminiscences, the required monthly check ups with the local commandant's office was the most difficult task for adult Kalmyks. To prove that a Kalmyk person from age sixteen had not left his or her place of registration, they had to turn up each month at the same day and hour to the commandant's office to resume registration. This procedure was regarded as most humiliating; every month it served as a reminder of one's low social status of a punished person, of belonging to the exiled people. One might observe, there was nothing but a symbolic humiliation in it—you only have to sign up, confirming that you were still there and had not fled. However, during this procedure they also had meetings with the commandant, who in order to demonstrate his own efficiency, might often find fault with their ideological status, accusing them of "anti-Soviet" ideas, which could possibly lead to criminal

37 "Sud'ba moia shchastlivaia," *Komsomolets Kalmykii*, April 6, 1989.

38 Pol', " 'Neuzheli eti zemli nashei mogiloi stanut?', " p. 175.

prosecution. According to one woman, who had to endure the humiliating interviews, "the commandant was very severe. We used to call him God among ourselves, because everything he said was to be strictly followed."[39] Along with humiliation came fear, because often they were questioned about ideological feeling among fellow-Kalmyks. Any careless answer would lead to arrest and incrimination of innocent people.

Conditions of living in the settlement for exiles prohibited leaving the area without obtaining proper leave. Those who left on their own accord could face punishment of a long prison confinement, up to twenty years of penalty labor, which in practice in 1948 was equal to a death verdict.

New socialization was occurring at work for adults and at school for children. Not all the children could study at school, especially during the first years of the relocation. Many of the elder children from families with large households had to help provide a means of living for their families and so were not able to finish the seven-year school course. Additionally, upon entering the eighth grade, yearly fees were 300 rubles for education.[40] However, when the opportunity arose, for example when there were relatives who considered school education a high priority in order to succeed, children made the most of their chances. To be the best student in one's class meant for many "not to be worse than others." Obtaining the highest grades became a protective certificate among schoolmates and an opportunity for success. Initial school experience was often traumatic.

> I entered the first grade in 1955. I'll never be able to forget this time. Our teacher was Taisiia Timofeevna Brodina. I did something wrong, and she punished me. I wept. She said, why are you crying, Oleg? When you betray your Motherland as your parents did, then you'll have a reason to cry, now you don't have to cry. So did a teacher in the first grade. I was the only Kalmyk in the class. I was allowed to join the ranks of pioneers, but only after a discussion, whether it was possible at all. This became the subject of discussion! And why not? Because I was a Kalmyk.[41]

In order to be able to feel equal among other students, they had to

39 Interview with V. Meiaev, Elista, 2004.

40 U. E. Bembeev, " 'Spetspereselenets'– uchit'sia v vuze zapreshcheno," in *My – iz vyslannykh*, p. 121.

41 Interview with O. Mandzhiev, Moscow, 2004.

study with diligence, be active in sports and amateur arts, and carry out social work. Such kind of strategies often brought them into leading positions in the group. Yet despite their high academic grades and social activities, Kalmyk graduates were never awarded golden or silver medals. There was but one exception to this: V. P. Dordzhiev graduated from school in Aral'sk with a silver medal, but managed to finally get it only in 1960 with the help of the chief editor of the *Komsomol'skaia pravda* newspaper A. Adzhubei.[42]

The discrimination continued beyond secondary education. For thirteen years, exiles were not allowed to receive higher education. In order to enter a college, one had to have the highest grades from his or her secondary school. Even those Kalmyks who belonged to the military or Party elite had restrictions—for instance general B. B. Gorodovikov, later First secretary of Kalmyk CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) Committee. His family was not repressed, and he still occupied high posts, but three of his children were not allowed to study at the best high education establishment in the country—Moscow State University.

Entering a higher education establishment was a cherished dream for many Kalmyks, who had finished school in Siberia. But it was not easy for many reasons. One reason was economic: students were given small scholarships and it was not possible to make a living by them alone. Most families could not afford to support a student, and those who did graduate high school had to work and support their families. To work at night and study in the daytime was not an easy task, and their studies usually suffered due to exhaustion and lost its meaning.

For Kalmyks though, the main problem lay in their status. Exiles were not allowed to abandon their settlements without a special leave from the commandant, who was not eager to comply to the wishes of his subordinates, who were, after all, "*enemies of the people*." High school education was available for residents of major cities but Kalmyks were usually settled in rural areas. After Stalin's death, free movement within the area of the oblast where one lived was allowed, but the ban on going to other oblasts remained, and the authorities could easily discover violations by checking their passports (identity documents). However, the main im-

42 V. P. Dordzhiev, "Vernost' interesam naroda," in *My – iz vyslannykh*, p. 337.

pediment was an unofficial ban on accepting applications from exiles for admission to schools of higher education.

Survival Strategies

As many women who came to Siberia at a fertile age recall, first babies born there had a high mortality rate. This is clear from the following two accounts of the time:

> Soon, after a year, my two-month old brother died of pneumonia. As my mother told me, babies often died because of lack of food; mothers did not have enough milk, and children who were on artificial mixes were weak and very soon fell ill.[43]

> There were almost no children born in 1945–1950. Babies brought into Far North were dying. And no one was born in that period. Only later did the birthrate begin to increase. Many died young, because the health of young women had been affected by severe conditions and extremely hard labor.[44]

Woman would often give birth to up to three babies who died, before children started to survive. In 1948, 3,193 babies were born to Kalmyk families and 2,766 of which died. In 1949, 2,058 people were born, but 1,903 died shortly after.[45] Abrupt changes of climate and sharp stress brought about such reaction in females as amenorrhea. Consequently, people found what was hardest in the first years was "adaptation to local climate and communicating with the local population."[46]

People, who were put to the brink of life and death, deprived of a possibility to earn their food and clothes, who worked hard but were paid nothing, revised moral norms. They had to steal in order to survive. Actions of people, mentioned in narratives and letters as stealing, hardly should be qualified as serious crimes. Extreme conditions inevitably shifted the normal ethics of comfortable life. The situation was similar to

43 Shevenova et al., *Pamiat' v nasledstvo*, p. 60.

44 S. M. Vasliaev"My byli pokhozhi na podrankov," in P. O. Godaev, *Bol' pamiati* (Elista, 1999), p. 163.

45 Bugai, *Operatsiia Ulusy*, p. 78.

46 Interview with M. S. Mukhlynova Elista, 2004.

that of the front, where special military language shifted the meanings of words, while the immediate meanings of many words became a taboo. One of the first to be tabooed was the word *to steal*; soldiers of both the Red Army and Wehrmacht used euphemisms such as *to swoop,* or *to organize*.[47] Whereas soldiers at the front would deliberately separate themselves from peaceful life, Kalmyks, on the other hand, whose "peaceful" life had been full of daily threats, created no special language. That is why even sixty years later they would simple-heartedly call these "survival tricks" theft.

Hardships of arriving Kalmyks went on, jobs were hard to procure, people somehow had to provide food for their families, or else everyone would have fallen victim to hungry death. Stealing cattle was often the only chance to have something to eat. To ensure survival, somehow starving people managed to steal cattle with the help of their inherited nomadic skills. Experienced shepherds had little trouble calling an animal, killing it, quickly cutting it up and just as swiftly concealing any trace that might indicate a theft had taken place. Yet the criminal was invariably discovered. Often children were asked what they had eaten yesterday. They would answer honestly, which led to inevitable arrest. Later, Kalmyks learned that the militia arrested only one person even if several people had participated in a theft. The following way out was found. The most weak, most unhealthy people were willing to accept the blame and bear the consequences, after deciding who of the survivors would take care and bring up their children and grandchildren. Here is one reason why in the years of exile close and faraway relatives often lived together, and members of one family could have different family names.

Their status as exiles and dispersed settlements made marriage problematic for many Kalmyks at that time. Post-war demographic disproportion and a lack of local men in Siberia led to interethnic marriages between Kalmyk males and Siberian females. These marriages were often not officially registered because of difference in civil status. Such heterogeneous couples sometimes existed for years unregistered. For example, I had a neighbor in Elista, a seventy year old Siberian-born female.

47 Iu. M. Lotman, "Ne-memuary," in his *Vospitanie dushi* (St. Petersburg, 2003), pp. 18–19.

One day in 1989 it occurred to her she had lived her entire life with her husband without an appropriate mark in passport. Despite her age, she began asking her husband to register their civil status officially. Her argument was that she wanted "like Eva Braun, to officially register her status of a wife before she died."

At the same time many Kalmyk women, whose youth corresponded with the years of tribulation, were never married. Men had an easier time finding mates in post-war years. Creating a family, preferably a Kalmyk one, was part of the survival strategy.

On March 10, 1955, the Ministry of Interior (MVD) of the USSR allowed exiles to have passports like other citizens. Before this ruling, Kalmyks had no passports. In March 1956, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted a decree lifting restrictions on judicial status imposed on deported Kalmyks and members of their families. However, the decree's language was far from democratic, as was the attitude of the authorities to the Kalmyk people. Among other things, it ordered:

1. Kalmyks and members of their families, removed to exile settlements in the years of the Great Patriotic war, are to cease their registration in the settlement, and administrative surveillance over them by MVD structures is to be lifted;
2. It should be understood that lifting restriction does not lead to return of confiscated property, and that they cannot return to places where they had been expelled from.[48]

Lifting restrictions meant just a partial mollifying of the political regime. These incomplete politics were further carried on by the CPSU Central Committee, which ordered: "Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirgizia, Altai and Krasnoyarsk regional Committees of the CPSU, Sakhalin, Kemerovo, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Tomsk, Omsk and Tyumen oblast Committees of the CPSU should take necessary measures to ensure that Kalmyks remain in the places of their current residence, preventing their mass leaving the areas of settlement."[49]

In accordance with the decision of the twentieth CPSU Congress, the

48 Bugai, *Operatsiia Ulusy*, p. 85.
49 Ibid., p. 86.

sixth session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 9 January 1957 "about formation of the Kalmyk autonomous oblast as part of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic] based on the territory of the former republic within borders of the Stavropol krai." Later there were proposals to call this day Liberation Day or Resurrection Day. Already on January 25, 1957, Kalmyks were allowed to live and register in the places from which they had been expelled. On July 29, 1958, the Kalmyk autonomous district was reformed into the Kalmyk Autonomous SSR. During the latter half of the 1950s, the majority of Kalmyks returned to the newly organized Kalmyk republic. For many of them, not to return from Siberia was completely out of the question. To remain meant an admission of guilt and justification of Stalin's punishment. Still, the question of why some of the repressed nations were allowed to return and others were not, remains. Administrative institutions prefer not to express their opinions publicly. Nevertheless, the mention of Kalmyks, Chechens and Ingush in Khrushchev's report inspired the Kalmyk elite to try to return.[50]

Nowadays some believe that Russian Germans and Crimean Tatars had to stay because the local administration needed them as efficient workers, while Chechens, Ingush and Kalmyks had been allowed to leave, since they were considered "half barbarian" and were expected to cause more trouble than good.[51]

Certain roles in the restoration of the Kalmyk autonomy were played by the leaders of the Kalmyk community in the United States, who wrote and sent letters-memorandums to high ranking executives in the State Department, as well as important international organizations such as the United Nations. Information concerning the persecution of minorities became a good reason for the American politicians to criticize the USSR in the time of Cold War, as well as in the subsequent ideological controversy of the two countries. Speeches by members of the Kalmyk delegation from the U.S. at the Conference of the leaders of the twenty-nine

50 KHAN'IA Siro [HANYA Shiro], "Sekretnyi doklad N. S. Krushcheva i vosstanovlenie avtonomnykh territorii v 1957 g.," *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 22 (2005), pp. 144–145.

51 Cf. Roy A. Medvedev and Zhores A. Medvedev, *Khrushchev: The Years in Power* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978), p. 122.

states of Asia and Africa in Bandung in 1955 brought about a wide international response.[52]

Stigma of Ethnicity

People repressed on ethnic grounds began to feel ashamed of their ethnic affiliation. "The word *Kalmyk* became obscene."[53] This humiliating feeling of exclusion from the ranks of the Soviet people was further aggravated visually: Kalmyks were settled not in those regions of Siberia populated heavily by Buryats, who were similar in culture, religion and appearance, but rather where a mostly Slavic population resided. In rare cases, their neighbors included not only Russians, but also Altai, Khakas, Khanty or Mansi people, as seen in the following recollections:

> We managed to make the fortune of my niece, and only because we had registered her as Buryat, supposedly born in Altai region. Through that she was freed from exile registration.[54]

> You had to show up to the commandant's office weekly at the appointed hour; you could not be late. Once I was late, and I had to call myself Khakas in order to avoid going to jail.[55]

> In the first years kids would tease us, the word *Kalmyk* being believed offensive. Someone made up a derisive rhyme "just like Russians, only eyes are narrow, nose is flat, and the head is like a potato." The hardest thing to endure in those years was not physical suffering, due to lack of food or clothes (although at age sixteen or seventeen, one felt like dressing beautifully), but rather moral deficiency. You might have been good in education, with no one openly humiliating you, yet you were always conscious of being different in appearance, of being an exile, always expecting to be underestimated.

52 Djab Naminov-Burhinov, "The Struggle for Civil Rights of the Kalmyk People," in KONAGAYA Yuki, ed., *The Changing Paradigm of Mongolian Studies: Between Documents and the Field* (Cologne: International Society for the Study of the Culture and Economy of the Ordos Mongols, 2001), p. 165.

53 Interview with D. D. Kukeev, Elista, 2004.

54 U. E. Erdniev, "Ssyl'nyi kalmyk vo glave fakul'teta," in *My – iz vyslannykh*, p. 43.

55 Interview with N. Ch. Unkova, Elista, 2004.

> This transcendental feeling of being second-hand was always there![56]
>
> My mother was just five, but she clearly remembered one day being derided by a group of small kids from kindergarten passing their house, calling her "Kalmyk." Only then did she realize her nationality.[57]

Kalmyks were sometimes derided exactly like the Chinese had been during the New Economic Policy in Soviet Russia: *Hodia, soli nado?*[58] (This contains the Russian verb *to walk* and a question *Need salt?*) This derisive phrase reflected the colonial attitudes toward "barbarians," who were considered to occupy a lower step of evolution. It reflected Russians' reactions to what they believed to be the funny mincing gait of Chinese, walking in wooden shoes, and buying salt in large quantities.[59] Thus again, through visual resemblance, Kalmyks qualified as "barbarians," and strangers, even further as political enemies of the state.

At the railway station Kalmyks were watched especially closely: as potential runaways, alleged enemies of the people, and possible terrorists. The eldest ethnologist of Kalmykia, professor U. E. Erdniev recalled going to meet his daughter arriving home from a pioneer camp, where by a good fortune she had been sent for recreation. At the station he was arrested, and spent several days and nights in confinement. Former members of the Kalmyk ruling elite, who wrote letters in defense of their people to Moscow, eventually concluded that the local postal service had been under particularly close control by the commandant. They began asking passengers from trains passing through to deposit their protest letters into mailboxes in Moscow. The only person, though, who could be trusted with the task of delivering letters to the railway station was the Russian wife of one of the Kalmyks by the name of Vera Korsunkieva, who drew no suspicion from the militia guarding the station.

Due to its warmer climate, Central Asia was more attractive to the Kalmyks, where although they still had to check in with the commandants, they were not as different from the local population in appearance,

56 Interview with K. E. Kardonova, Elista, 2004.

57 Shevenova et al., *Pamiat' v nasledstvo*, p. 67.

58 Interview with R. E. Ochirova, Elista, 2004.

59 N. Pozdniakova's website [http://poznatali.narod.ru/EK20.HTM (valid as of January 29, 2007)].

and sometimes were able to blend in with the crowd. This not only provided a better moral climate, but also helped to obtain better jobs:

> After Siberia, Central Asia seemed heaven on Earth. It was warm, plenty of food, almost freedom, us being among Asian population, much like us in appearance. All this made it easier for us. Still we had to register at the commandant's office every month.
>
> So far as I know, in Kirgizia many lads and lasses, finally got out of Siberia, received higher and intermediate education, while their parents had good jobs in colleges, technical schools, newspaper publishing houses, scientific institutes, heading industrial enterprises, and as experts in ministries.[60]

Many recounted that their repressed status, due to differences in appearance, resulted in feeling dejected, and a certainty that the many rules and laws guaranteeing rights of all Soviet citizens did not apply to them.

> I remember being offended by one grown-up, perhaps, who poured water over me or something. I seized a brick, hitting him on the head. People used to be afraid of me, considering me crazy. I was afraid to complain to father, because I knew he would come to my protection, and then there would be one grown-up against twenty. He'd simply get killed. Nowadays one might say it was scary, but then. . . it was just daily life. Anyone could kill a Kalmyk; laws did not apply to Kalmyks. "Who got killed?—Just a Kalmyk." Or: "you really might have left him alive." It was fear, not to stick out, not to remind of one's existence. Chekhov squeezed the slave out of himself drop by drop, while we had to do it lump by lump . . . . Always being on alert. Expect to be offended anywhere, in the street, at school, in a store. Or you were treated like "Kalmyk—poke him with a stick" [or called] "narrow-eyed."[61]
>
> Old Zodbaev lived with his old lady and a disabled daughter. Locals would call him *Sto dva* [hundred and two, in Russian, for phonetic resemblance], and Kalmyks *Zodva*. He was guarding the local store, where only goods had been salt and bread, which were being given out for coupons. One day Zodva disappeared. Several days we looked for him. On the third day we found him. He had been buried in deep snow by local kids. When we un-

60 A. N. Maglinov, "Strashno vspominat' etot period zhizni," in *My – iz vyslannykh*, p. 235.

61 Interview with O. Mandzhiev, Moscow, 2004.

covered him, he was still alive. He did not live long after that.[62]

Granny remembers a case, when the chairman of the kolkhoz beat up an old Kalmyk woman for a petty misdoing. He was beating her severely for a long time with a stick, then kicked in the legs. There was no one and nowhere to complain about one's hard life.[63]

Both in criminal cases and in normal life, being Kalmyk meant to always be ready to experience practices of exclusion.

In the fourth grade at school I remember someone said my father was a Hero of the Soviet Union. The teacher said this was impossible, suggesting that perhaps he was just a Hero of Socialist Labor. "No, Hero of the Soviet Union."—"Impossible." When they found out it was true, it was a shock for many. They wondered how a Kalmyk could be a Hero of the Soviet Union.[64]

I took part in building a dam across the Ob river and a hydro-electric power station. Once we'd been shot on movie-camera, but they cut it out because I was a Kalmyk.[65]

Both adults and kids felt like outcasts wherever they went. Kalmyks were hiding their folk dress, customs, utensils in the farthest closets, even adults didn't often use their native language. . . . As a kid I made friends with kids of different nationalities—Russian and German, Letts and Estonians. Kids would call each other names, but there was no real enmity, only Russian kids always felt their superiority.[66]

For doing good work such as collecting ample crops, I was awarded the Lenin Order, but I never received it because I was Kalmyk.[67]

In 1953, I was finishing tenth grade. My results had been worthy of a silver medal. The last exam was German—I was doing well, providing comprehensive answers even to extra questions. Seemed like I was through. Then the executive from the District Department for People's Education suggested that we speak German, which was not in the exam program. Naturally I felt

62 V. M. Dzhambaev, "Cherez veka v Kalmytskikh mysakh," in *My – iz vyslannykh*, p. 36.

63 Shevenova et al., *Pamiat' v nasledstvo*, p. 104.

64 Interview with O. Mandzhiev, Moscow, 2004.

65 Shevenova et al., *Pamiat' v nasledstvo*, p. 206.

66 Interview with V. D. Mamonova, Elista, 2004.

67 Interview with B. G. Badmaev, Elista, 2004.

> a bit shy, getting a lower mark ("4") and no longer qualified for the silver medal. It was later that I learned that the District executive was complying with the commandant's order not to let exiles get medals. My wonderful teachers could do nothing against it.[68]
>
> At the first post-War amateur arts show in the local palace of culture, we performed in front of an over-crowded house. Our program was one hundred percent ethnic with songs and rhymes in the Kalmyk language. Almost every piece was followed by encores. And although this was not normal practice, dancers had to perform two or three times. . . . We were to represent our region at a district show in the town of Dudinka. At that point there was some stirring in administration. They were not particularly willing to allow exiles to demonstrate their gifts and display the adaptability of Kalmyks to the district audience. Their talent, however, was not to be subdued by any bans. In subsequent years the group excelled at local shows.[69]

Kalmyks considered themselves outcasts and tried to "atone for their guilt," as was mentioned above, by over diligence. Additionally, they attempted to conceal those elements of their culture that might have been distinctly ethnically marked. Kalmyk names were changed to Russian, although it was important to preserve initial letter of one's name. 99 percent of Siberian-born babies received Russian names. The Russian name was usually transcribed in official documents but the mother would still give a secret Kalmyk name. Nowadays, *Siberian children*, as Kalmyks, who were born or spent their childhood in deportation, attribute their Russian names in various ways. For example, they may claim they were named in gratitude after a Russian neighbor, who had saved them from starving, or a midwife who delivered them.

There might also have been another reason, connected with the tradition of giving "someone else's names" to a child, especially if there had been a threat to the child's life. People usually did that in times past to lead evil spirits away, so if they were ever to come for the baby they would decide that it was from another family. The death rate among children, especially in the first years of deportation, was high, so this reason seems relevant.

68 Bembeev, " 'Spetspereselenets'," p. 122.

69 B. E. Erdni-Goriaev, "Ne vsem suzhdeno bylo vernut'sia," in Godaev, *Bol' pamiati*, pp. 151–152.

No less relevant was parents' desire to ease the future life of the newborn, who was doomed to live forever outside the motherland, and would constantly have to explain the semantics of his or her name, due to its difficult pronunciation and spelling. Moreover, the non-Russian name would lead to the question of the person's nationality. Being Kalmyk meant belonging to a persecuted group; therefore one had to be prepared to answer the question: why had Kalmyks been exiled? To this question there was no satisfactory and truthful answer that a Kalmyk could accept. For this reason, it was simplest to give child a name that would not be considered unusual in mainstream society. Despite this, however, using a Russian name was neither automatic, nor an absolutely forced act. According to oral recollections, these names had been chosen not without a creative attitude, but based on ideology and history of the dominating society.

> We chose names of Russian princes Petr and Oleg and simply a traditional name Tonia.[70]

> My brother died, but then a sister and a brother were born. They were given the names Natasha and Sasha. I picked the names for them, which were those of the Heroes of the Soviet Union Natasha Kochuevskaia and Aleksandr Matrosov.[71]

> I had a Kalmyk name Googa Elta, known in our village and nearby villages. That I had been also Pavel, was known only at school. And in Siberia everyone knew me as Pavel or Pasha. Uncle Kyotyarya became Kostia.[72]

The word *Kalmyk* might have been banned in official discourse, as everything associated with Kalmyks, but it could not be excluded from life. In 1948, U. A. Alekseev cautiously inquired in a Moscow tea shop, whether they had "brick tea." In response, the saleswoman shouted into the other room: "Do you have Kalmyk tea?" So, the people were in oblivion, while Kalmyk tea was produced and retailed.[73]

Deprivation on ethnic grounds strengthened the tendency to get married to one's kin among Kalmyks in exile. In the Stalin years, to have an

70 Interview with G. U. Darbakova, Elista, 2004.
71 Interview with B. E. Badanov, Elista, 2004.
72 Interview with P. O. Godaev, Elista, 2004.
73 Interview with P. E. Alekseeva, Elista, 2001.

"*enemy of the people*" as a marriage partner automatically meant to be prepared any minute to follow such "enemy" to exile. Members of the family of a "traitor to the Motherland" could be punished by the law only for the fact that their relative was a person undesired by the NKVD. For this reason, Kalmyks were usually not wanted as fiancés by the local population, especially while Stalin lived. In this situation of forced exogamy, as was stated above, it was easier for a Kalmyk to marry another Kalmyk, if in his settlement there were girls of appropriate age.

For young men and girls exogamy had a different scale. In situations where there was a lack of men in times immediately following war, educated Kalmyk men, especially former front officers, could attract the attention of young Siberian women. Gender asymmetry was another factor: both Kalmyk and Siberian girls were more restricted by the prevalent norms of sexual behavior than men. The imposed asexuality of Soviet times prohibited any corporal practices in sexual sphere for women without special permission—a registration of marriage. At the same time, abortions were prohibited and giving birth out of wedlock was looked upon with strict disapproval. Therefore, a shortage of local fiancés made a Kalmyk a possible candidate, in that any marriage was better than bitter female loneliness.

For Kalmyk women, the situation was different. If no single Kalmyk young man was available, a Kalmyk girl would probably remain an "old maid," and it was practically impossible to find a Siberian husband. Unmarried men were much scarcer than their female counterparts, with the repressed status of possible bride scaring grooms away. Appearance mattered too. A Mongoloid appearance was not seen as aesthetically attractive among the prevalent Europeoid population, particularly during the first years of deportation.

Apart from language and name other social markers of ethnicity were Kalmyk traditional festivities. In areas where more than ten Kalmyk families resided, they still observed Kalmyk calendar festivals such as Zul (New Year), when each Kalmyk became a year older, and the Tsagan Sar Spring festival. As seen in recollections, these were unpretentious parties: "We ate potatoes, drank tea of apple-tree leaves, then sang and danced." Many others, however, claimed they were celebrating "only Soviet holidays. Kalmyk festivals were observed formally with no sing-

ing or dancing,"[74] because "marking Kalmyk festivals was not socially approved, and only after Stalin's death did attitudes toward our songs, dances and festivals change."[75]

> Kalmyk holidays were marked rarely; sometimes we just burned icon-lamps and said a prayer in secret. There were no special meals, nor celebrating.[76]

> We celebrated Zul and Tsagan Sar in our small group, secretly.[77]

The longer Kalmyks lived and the further they adapted to local conditions, the easier it became to mark traditional festivals. For those brought up within Soviet/Russian culture it was not easy to ignore a holiday. When after the war "life became better, life became more merry" (words belong to Stalin, and are often quoted with ironic connotation), the more so after Stalin's death, temptation to celebrate was even harder for local people as well:

> In the last years we received a day off at work for Tsagan Sar. Local people went with us from home to home, and even the administration took part. Each host (Kalmyk) cooked meat and procured strong homemade alcohol. The youth would arrange dances, sing songs, both Kalmyk and Russian.[78]

Kalmyks were notably distinct among surrounding population in the Volga area by virtue of their religion, which was Tibetan Buddhism. However, cultural revolution and persecution against religion, which had been dubbed "opium for the people" in 1920s and 1930s resulted in the destruction of churches and the disappearance of Buddhist culture from public life. Even before deportation, Kalmyks struggled to keep their faith to themselves. Regardless, everyone who had packed with the expectation of a long-term exile took with them a Buddhist rug and paper icons, figures of gods, and icon-lamps. While in exile, these items were carefully hidden. Still, people prayed, believing that prayer helped in complicated situations, provided hope for a brighter future, and reconciled grief. The most vivid marker of ethnic culture, the religious as-

74 Interview with R. A. Ulashkina, Elista, 2004.
75 Interview with S. G. Mandzhieva, Elista, 2004.
76 Interview with V. D. Mamonova, Elista, 2004.
77 Interview with E. P. Kenzeeva, Elista, 2004.
78 Interview with B. O. Derteev, Elista, 2004.

pect, was strictly confined to private sphere.

In those thirteen years many found their fortune, and numerous weddings took place. The traditional Kalmyk wedding—with a bilocal feast first in the home of bride, then the groom's, extensive exchange of presents, a complicated preliminary system of match-making, post-wedding visits of relatives and matchmakers, the changing of the bride from a maiden dress into a woman's, change of hairdo, and many other traditions—was replaced by a party with dancing. Often people did not even care to do that, and the wedding procedure was reduced to a visit to a photographer's studio, who secured the creation of a new family by a flash of the camera and a snapshot.

As remarked above, many Kalmyks avoided using their language in public, and this was especially true with children and young people. Many Siberian children recall that Russian was the main language used at home, although parents would use Kalmyk when talking to each other. Cultural activist Klara Selvina recalls that she did not know a word in Kalmyk before entering Theatrical college in 1958.[79] Many Kalmyks who grew up in Siberia could not speak Kalmyk as easily as their parents, and certainly used Russian more intensively. One such Kalmyk remembers that "I could speak Khanty, Mansi languages and Russian well; my Kalmyk was much worse. I remember even taking part in the Olympic games for the peoples of the North in Leningrad in 1956."[80]

People were ashamed to use Kalmyk, and it was unsafe to pray in public. It was not sensible to celebrate Kalmyk holidays too openly. Overall, it was shameful to be a Kalmyk. All ethnic markers retreated into the private sphere. Kalmyk ethnicity was initially stained by repression on ethnic grounds. The stigma was further aggravated by differences in appearance, religion, and language. Considering this temporary, but seemingly, eternal, stigmatized ethnicity, a unique phenomenon was a Kalmyk dance which remained in the program of a well-known Soviet Union folk dance group headed by Igor Moiseev. The male dance *ishkimdyk* was staged by choreographer Eva Margolis, wife of the late Kalmyk poet Sanji Kalyaev, who had returned to Moscow after the arrest of her husband in 1937 and worked with Moiseev. The Kalmyk dance re-

79 Interview with K. E. Sel'vina, Elista, 2004.

80 G. M. Borlikov, "Znaki raniashchikh mgnovenii," in *My – iz vyslannykh*, p. 247.

mained in the concert program, in the same form as it was staged in 1930s, until recently. This seemed so incredible that popular consciousness attempted to interpret the courageous deed of Moiseev by creating a myth. According to the legend,

> one time Stalin came to see the performance and saw the Kalmyk dance. During the break he asked Moiseev: "Why do you keep this dance? Don't you know, Kalmyks were exiled and the word "Kalmyk" is banned?"—"What can I do, Iosif Vissarionovich, the dance is good?"—"Now, look. Kalmyks are divided into Torguts and Derbets. Rename this dance, call it Torgut dance or Derbet dance."[81]

Despite all the unfortunate circumstances, it is possible to observe positive processes of acquiring new experiences beyond the dramatic circumstances of the forced migration of Kalmyks. For instance, ethnic consolidation was one of the consequences of deportation. Prior to December 1943, the administrative division of the Republic was based on the Ulus structure. Having multiple identities based on kin or ethnoterritorial parameters (kin, bone, *khoton*, *aimak*, *ulus* as well as *stanitsa*), until the abolition of the Republic, Kalmyks lived according to a pre-Revolutionary regional division, based on this classification. Stigmatized ethnicity and common extreme experience led to the situation in which general ethnic identity prevailed over local forms of consciousness. The primary level of identity was now indicated by the word *Kalmyk*. The monstrous act of violent deportation consolidated the ethnic identity of Kalmyks, although in a negative form. This same phenomenon has been marked in ethnographic literature about the deportation of the Chechens, whose identity also strengthened during the years of repression.[82]

81 Interview with T. Badmaeva, Elista, 1995.

82 V. A. Tishkov, *Obshchestvo v vooruzhennom konflikte: Etnografiia chechenskoi voiny* (Moscow, 2001), p. 83.

8

HANYA Shiro

Nationalities Policy in the Brezhnev Era: The Case of Deported Nations

Introduction

The purpose in this paper is to give the reader a better understanding of nationality issues in the Brezhnev era by focusing on the case of deported nations. Generally speaking, the Brezhnev era remains the least-studied period in the history of the USSR. It is only recently, some twenty years since Brezhnev's death, that posthumous research on this era began to be published.[1] Among this research, Ben Fowkes made the first attempt to comprehensively describe the nationalities policy under Brezhnev.[2] He provides a useful starting point for discussing Brezhnev's nationalities policy by defining it as "corporatist compromise, ethnic equalization, and masterly inactivity." In contrast to Nahaylo and Swoboda,[3] who attach more importance to a dynamic of Russification

1 Edwin Bacon and Mark Sandle, eds., *Brezhnev Reconsidered* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); William Tompson, *The Soviet Union under Brezhnev* (Harlow: Pearson, 2003). It is worthy of attention that many popular books on Brezhnev and his era have been published in Russia in the last few years. see B. V. Sokolov, *Leonid Brezhnev: Zolotaia epokha* (Moscow, 2004), etc.

2 Ben Fowkes, "The National Question in the Soviet Union under Leonid Brezhnev: Policy and Response," in Bacon and Sandle, *Brezhnev Reconsidered*, pp. 68–89.

3 Bohdan Nahaylo and Victor Swoboda, *Soviet Disunion: A History of the Nationalities Problem in the USSR* (New York: Free Press, 1990).

pressure from above and tireless resistance from below, Fowkes appreciates Brezhnev's approach to national questions, concluding that it was effective enough to preserve the USSR for a couple of decades, although it contained the seeds of its own destruction.[4]

Fowkes' description of nationalities policy under Brezhnev rightly focuses on nationalities which enjoyed official autonomy status (especially union republics). His approach is justifiable in light of the following considerations. First of all, it is difficult to find a nationalities policy in a concrete form, because in those days, it was officially declared that national problems had already been completely solved in the USSR. However, by focusing attention on those nationalities with autonomous territories, Fowkes can interpret local politics within union republics or center-local relations as nationalities policy.

Nonetheless, it is clear that more research is necessary to establish a comprehensive understanding of nationality politics under Brezhnev because, besides those cases treated by Fowkes, there were many ethnic groups without territorial autonomy. Moreover, the USSR was such a vast space that there are considerable differences among various nationalities or regions. Thus, we might not be satisfied with Fowkes' tentative generalizations and wish to try to elaborate on his thesis in the light of additional concrete case studies. In this paper, taking the point of view above, I shall consider the nationalities policy of the Brezhnev era for those nationalities without autonomy, an important group neglected by Fowkes' study. In particular, I will focus on three deported nations, the Germans, Crimean Tatars, and Meskhetian Turks.[5] They compose a kind of group with a relatively common destiny, and provide an important case through which to examine national politics under Brezhnev.[6]

4 Fowkes, "The National Question," pp. 81–83.

5 There are different views in defining what are Meskhetian Turks. In this paper I will follow that of Osipov, claiming that Muslim peoples without determined modern ethnic consciousness have forged their own identity through common destiny as deportation. See Osipov in annotation 7 below.

6 In this paper we are not concerned with Koreans, because they were in a different situation from other deported nations. In the eye of the law, Koreans no longer suffered any limitations on choosing a place of residence after 1953, although return to the Far East was not recommended by authorities. See G. V. Kan, *Istoriia koreitsev Kazakhstana* (Almaty, 1995); B. D. Pak and N. F. Bugai, *140 let v Rossii: Ocherki istorii rossiiskikh koreitsev* (Moscow,

There is a substantial literature on the deportation and rehabilitation of Germans, Crimean Tatars, and Meskhetian Turks.[7] Even better, many related collections of documents have been published.[8] However, as far as the Brezhnev period is concerned, few attempts have been made at systematic comparison, and, no persuasive research has been undertaken to understand the common links underlying official nationality policy. The deported nations, I believe, are a key case for constructing a full picture of the nationalities issue under Brezhnev.

2004); HANYA Shiro, "Furushichofu himitsu hokoku to minzoku kyosei iju: Kurimia-Tataru jin, Doitsu jin, Chosen jin no mondai tsuminokoshi" [The Secret Report of Khrushchev and Deportation of Nations: Unresolved Problems of Crimean Tatars, Germans and Koreans], *Rosiashi kenkyu* 75 (2004), pp. 85–100 (especially pp. 93–96).

7 Classic research on deportation of nations is Aleksandr Nekrich, *The Punished Peoples: The Deportation and Fate of Soviet Minorities at the End of the Second World War* (New York: Norton, 1978), while the latest literature on the basis of archival materials is N. F. Bugai, *L. Beriia – I. Stalinu: "Soglasno Vashemu ukazaniyu . . . "* (Moscow, 1995). Excellent research by dissidents at that time about the rehabilitation movement after the Stalin's death is from Ludmilla Alexeyeva, *Soviet Dissent: Contemporary Movements for National, Religious, and Human Rights* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1985), pp. 137–174. For the latest literature on each nationality separately, see the following: Germans: V. A. Bauer and T. S. Ilarionova, *Rossiiskie nemtsy: pravo na nadezhdu* (Moscow, 1995); Alfred Eisfeld, *Die Russlanddeutschen* (Munich, 1999); HAN'IA Siro [HANYA Shiro], "Tselinograd, iiun' 1979 g.: k voprosu o nesostoiavsheisia nemetskoi avtonomii v Kazakhstane," *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 20 (2003), pp. 230–236; Crimean Tatars: Brian G. Williams, *The Crimean Tatars: The Diaspora Experience and the Forging of a Nation* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Greta Lynn Uehling, *Beyond Memory: The Crimean Tatars' Deportation and Return* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Meskhetian Turks: A. G. Osipov, "Vliianie gosudarstvennoi ideologii na samosoznanie i aktivnost' men'shinstv (na primere meskhetinskikh turok)," *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 2 (1994), pp. 35–40; A. G. Osipov., "Dvizhenie meskhetintsev za repatriatsiiu (1956–1988 gg.)," *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 5 (1998), pp. 95–108.

8 On documents in general, see A. N. Artizov et al., eds., *Reabilitatsiia: kak eto bylo*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 2003); N. F. Bugai and A. M. Gonov, eds., *"Po resheniiu pravitel'stva Soyuza SSR . . . "* (Nal'chik, 2003). On each nationality separately, see the following. Germans: V. A. Auman and V. G. Chebotareva, eds., *Istoriia rossiiskikh nemtsev v dokumentakh (1763–1992 gg.)* (Moscow, 1993); V. A. Auman and V. G. Chebotareva, eds., *Istoriia rossiiskikh nemtsev v dokumentakh,* vol. 2, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskoe dvizhenie za vosstanovlenie natsional'noi gosudarstvennosti (1965–1992 gg.)* (Moscow, 1994); G. A. Karpykova, ed., *Iz istorii nemtsev Kazakhstana (1921–1975 gg.)* (Almaty, 1997); A. Aisfel'd [Eisfeld], ed., *Iz istorii nemtsev Kyrgyzstana: 1917–1999 gg.* (Bishkek, 2000); Crimean Tatars: N. F. Bugai, ed., *Deportatsiia narodov Kryma* (Moscow, 2002); Meskhetian Turks: N. F. Bugai, ed., *Turki iz Meskhetii: dolgii put' k reabilitatsii* (Moscow, 1994).

For the sake of convenience, I have divided the Brezhnev era into two periods. The first runs from 1964 until 1972 and focuses on security measures, illustrated by examples of the rehabilitation decrees on Germans, Crimean Tatars, and Meskhetian Turks. The second section, running up to Brezhnev's death in 1982, examines the plan to give autonomous territories to Germans and Crimean Tatars and its relationship to the unexpected mass emigration of Germans and to popular resistance in Kazakhstan. As chairman of the State Security Committee (KGB), Yuri Andropov played a key role at the heart of nationality issues under Brezhnev.

Nationalities Policy in the Form of Security Measures (1964–1972)

Three Demands of Rehabilitation

As is well known, Stalin ordered the forcible resettlement of some ethnic groups from their native lands to Central Asia and Siberia during World War II (Germans in August 1941 from the Volga region, Crimean Tatars in May 1944 from Crimea, and Meskhetian Turks in July 1944 from Meskheti, an area lying along the Georgia-Turkey border). In the process of de-Stalinization, Khrushchev relabeled Stalin's deportation and accusation of high treason "a rude violation of the basic Leninist principles of Soviet national politics."[9] As a result, several deported nations, including the Chechens, were permitted return to their homelands, while their autonomous territories, abolished at the time of deportation, were also restored.[10] Rehabilitation during Khrushchev's "thaw," however, did not reach as far as the Germans, Crimean Tatars, and Meskhetian Turks. They were released from a state of "special settlement" in 1955–1956, but continued to be tied to their place of exile.

9 K. Aimermakher [Eimermacher], ed., *Doklad N. S. Khrushcheva o kul'te lichnosti Stalina na XX s''ezde KPSS: Dokumenty* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 93–94.

10 For a more detailed account of the return and restoration of autonomies of North Caucasian peoples in 1957, see HAN'IA Siro [HANYA Shiro], "Sekretnyi doklad N. S. Khrushcheva i vosstanovlenie avtonomnykh territorii v 1957 godu," *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 22 (2005), pp. 141–164.

Full rehabilitation for these three nationalities consisted of the following three points: (1) official recognition that the wartime accusation of mass treason was groundless, (2) permission to return to the homeland, and (3) restoration of the pre-war autonomous territory. Certainly, Meskhetian Turks are somewhat exceptional with regard to this final stipulation, for they had never possessed autonomy within the Georgian SSR. For them, the first point is also less relevant for at the time of deportation they were not officially declared to be betrayers. Many of them even considered departure a rescue measure against possible Turkish invasion.[11] However, generally speaking, these three points represent an agenda recognized by the three nations concerned, as well as Soviet authorities.

Decrees on Germans, Crimean Tatars, and Meskhetian Turks

Let us begin by reviewing the decrees on Germans, Crimean Tatars, and Meskhetian Turks, issued in this period. The vanguard is *Germans*: on August 29, 1964, the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on them was issued.[12] Strictly speaking, this decree might be classified into the Khrushchev era (Khrushchev was removed from power during a Presidium meeting on October 14, 1964). Nevertheless, it is worth our attention, because it has direct effects on the situation at the beginning of the Brezhnev era. The next is *Crimean Tatars* with both a decree (*ukaz*) and a resolution (*postanovlenie*) of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued on September 5, 1967.[13] Almost a year later, a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on *Meskhetian Turks* came out on May 30, 1968.[14] Finally, on November 3, 1972, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR finished off the cycle of rehabilitation decrees towards the deported nations with an additional decree regarding the Germans.[15]

11 Bugai, *Turki iz Meskhetii*, p. 16.

12 Bugai and Gonov, "*Po resheniiu pravitel'stva*," pp. 784–785. In the following source, there is omission of several words: Auman and Chebotareva, *Istoriia rossiiskikh nemtsev* (1993), pp. 178–179.

13 Artizov et al., *Reabilitatsiya*, vol. 2, pp. 517–518.

14 Ibid., pp. 520–521.

15 Ibid., p. 530; Bugai and Gonov, "*Po resheniiu pravitel'stva*," pp. 798–799; Bugai, *Turki*

The 1964 decree on Germans was prepared as part of a planned improvement in diplomatic relations between the USSR and West Germany, as shown by the low regard for Germans in the USSR in the period immediately preceding. Although the 1964 decree on Germans was issued on August 29, party officials continued to reject Germans' petitions for additional rehabilitation measures until the middle of June 1964.[16] It was early in July that the party authorities suddenly changed their attitude, following a CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) Secretariat discussion on July 3, report on July 25, and August 13 Presidium decision approving the draft decree.[17] This abrupt change in attitude towards Germans completely corresponds to that in diplomatic policy: it might be symbolic that on July 29, A. I. Adzhubei, to pave the way for an official visit by Khrushchev (his father-in-law), met Chancellor Ludwig Erhard in Bonn, and allegedly submitted daring proposals for improving bilateral relations.[18] In other words, the 1964 decree was prepared as a "gift" to West Germany by Khrushchev's own initiative. Although Khrushchev would be deposed two months later without making his trip and Adzhubei's visit to West Germany has even been suggested as a cause (among many) of Khrushchev's downfall,[19] the decree itself was not annulled.

The 1964 decree on Germans reversed the "groundless accusation" that all Germans were traitors during the war, but still left untouched a ban on return to the homeland, citing the reason that the Germans had

iz Meskhetii, p. 99. In the following source, there is an error in the text: Auman and Chebotareva, *Istoriia rossiiskikh nemtsev* (1993), p. 179: In addition to Germans, the 1972 decree deals with the other small in number nationalities with foreign origins, and Bugai assumes that it is also concerned with the Meskhetian Turks. However, I could hardly agree with him. Meskhetian Turks were released from "special settlement" by the two Decrees of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (on April 28, 1956, and October 31, 1957); that is evident from the 1968 decree on them. On the other hand, Turks concerned in the 1972 decree are those who were naturalized as Soviet citizens or stateless persons, and were released from special settlement by the other Decree on September 22, 1956. See Osipov, "Dvizhenie meskhetintsev za repatriatsiiu," pp. 96–97; Artizov et al., *Reabilitatsiia*, vol. 2, pp. 79–80, 185–186, 293, 520–521.

16 Artizov et al., *Reabilitatsiia*, vol. 2, pp. 467–470.

17 Ibid., p. 818.

18 Eisfeld, *Die Russlanddeutschen*, pp. 139–140.

19 R. G. Pikhoia, *Sovetskii Soiuz: istoriia vlasti 1945–1991* (Novosibirsk, 2000), p. 231.

"put down roots" in their new places of residence. In other words, using the above-mentioned three demands of the deported nations, this decree corresponded merely to the first point, while ignoring the other two points. Nevertheless, it made a profound impact on the Soviet Germans themselves, giving new life to the German national movement. Starting in 1965, they tried to get in contact with high-ranking officials of the party and government, asking for a further explanation as to why the decree discredited the accusation, but did not reverse the punishment, forbidding return to the homeland and the restoration of the Autonomous Republic of Volga Germans abolished during World War II (remarkably, the German national movement is characterized by its passiveness, especially compared with the Crimean Tatars and Meskhetian Turks that will be mentioned below).[20]

The decrees from 1967 to 1972 follow the 1964 text closely, even repeating the language regarding transplanted roots, but then go further to declare that Crimeans and Meskhetians "enjoy the same rights as all Soviet citizens" to reside anywhere in the USSR, if sanctioned by "the law on employment and passport procedure." We are probably safe in thinking that these new concessions and additional restraints were issued to meet the growing national movements.

This applies most of all to the Crimean Tatars, whose activities date back to 1957.[21] Under the direction of a younger generation, represented by a well-known activist Mustafa Dzhemilev, they abandoned the old politics of imploring authorities for "mercy" and instead tried confrontation. This new strategy gained widespread acceptance among ordinary Crimean Tatars. For instance, over 130,000 Crimean Tatars (almost the entire adult population) signed an appeal to the 23rd CPSU Congress in March 1966, a feat of organization not repeated in the Brezhnev era.[22] In this manner, authorities at that time had need of an effective measure to

20 Bauer and Ilarionova, *Rossiiskie nemtsy*, pp. 40–52; Eisfeld, *Die Russlanddeutschen*, pp. 140–142; For a memoir about Germans' delegations to Moscow in 1965, see G. G. Vormsbekher, "Protuberantsy muzhestva i nadezhd (1-ia i 2-ia delegatsiia sovetskikh nemtsev v 1965 g.)," *Nemetskoe naselenie v poststalinskom SSSR, v stranakh SNG i Baltii (1956–2000 gg.)* (Moscow, 2003), pp. 75–138.

21 On the early period of the Crimean Tatars' national movement, see Hanya, "Furushichofu himitsu hokoku," pp. 88–91.

22 Alexeyeva, *Soviet Dissent*, pp. 141–142.

control the Crimean Tatars' national movement. A draft of the decree was approved by the Politburo on August 17, 1967.[23]

Likewise, Meskhetian Turks also fit the case. Their national movement also intensified its activity in the middle of the 1960s. The so-called "Temporary organizational committee of liberation," established in 1961 by Enver Odabashev, played a central role in their national movement. Recent research revealed that until 1968 they sent at least twenty-four delegations to Moscow and Tbilisi, the biggest of which numbered about 200 people in the summer of 1964.[24] The Meskhetian Turks' movement was not as aggressive as that of the Crimean Tatars, but it attracted the authorities' attention nonetheless.[25] This might explain why the Politburo adopted a draft of the Meskhetian Turks' decree less than a year after the Crimean Tatars' on May 23, 1968.[26]

The last to come is the 1972 decree on Germans. The reason for four year's interruption between the Meskhetian Turks' decree and the one for Germans requires an explanation. Again, foreign factors (especially West Germany's *Ostpolitik* from 1969 by chancellor Willy Brandt) might have played a role,[27] but a more decisive factor is that the 1964 decree already had removed the stigma from Germans. Certainly, activists continued a movement demanding for the right to return to the Volga and restoration of the autonomous republic of Volga Germans, but, exposed to intensifying suppression by the authorities, German activists could not play the leading role to intensify the national movement like those of the Crimean Tatars and Meskhetian Turks. Why, then, was the 1972 decree issued permitting Germans' return to the Volga region?

The key to solving this puzzle is the meeting of the Politburo of CC (Central Committee) CPSU on October 26, 1972, where the 1972 decree on Germans was approved.[28] Attracting our attention is that at this meeting, though the decree was concerned only with the issue of Ger-

23 Artizov et al., *Reabilitatsiia*, vol. 2, p. 820.

24 Osipov, "Dvizhenie meskhetintsev za repatriatsiiu," pp. 97–100.

25 Artizov et al., *Reabilitatsiia: kak eto bylo*, vol. 2, pp. 471–472, 481.

26 Ibid., pp. 820.

27 Han'ia, "Tselinograd, iiun' 1979g.," pp. 231–232.

28 Bugai and Gonov, "*Po resheniiu pravitel'stva*," pp. 796–797; Bugai, *Turki iz Meskhetii*, pp. 97–98; Artizov et al., *Reabilitatsiia*, vol. 2, p. 821.

mans, mention was made of all three deported nations. The Politburo, repeating familiar wording that Germans, Crimean Tatars and Meskhetian Turks had "put down roots" in their new places of residence, obliged regional party organizations not only to take the necessary steps for restricting them to present places of residence, but also to keep strict and hostile watch against "autonomists" calling for mass return to the homeland. Furthermore, the Politburo asked regional party officials of Ukraine, Georgia, and the Volga region (Saratov and Volgograd) to accept those who desire to return, in accordance with "the law on employment and passport procedure." In other words, the 1972 decree was needed to apply a measure common to all three deported nations to Germans as well. The 1964 decree on Germans is not enough to follow this line, because it only abolished groundless accusation as mass treason and did not intend to establish conditional permission to return.

As a whole, from what has been discussed above, it is quite probable that the decrees from 1967 to 1972 were formulated as one set. It is not simply because they have almost the same wording. As has been revealed by the meeting of the Politburo of CC CPSU on October 26, 1972, Germans, Crimean Tatars and Meskhetian Turks were considered to be a fixed group in need of common policy measures. Therefore, we can conclude the following: the 1964 decree began the process, but for foreign policy reasons. The decrees between 1967 and 1972 extended even broader rehabilitation to two additional deported nationalities with the 1967 decree on Crimean Tatars acting as a model, and the 1968 decree on Meskhetian Turks following it. Finally, the 1972 decree brought Germans the same status as the Turks and Tatars, although the possibility of a link to the culminating phases of *Ostpolitik* cannot be excluded.

In this manner, it is obvious that there was a policy changeover in the Politburo towards the deported nations between the 1964 decree and 1967 decree. It is Yuri Andropov that played a key role in this political change.

Andropov's New Approach to the Deported Nations

After his appointment as KGB Chairman in May 1967, Yuri Andropov played a leading role in the establishment of a new approach towards the deported nations. Its essence lies in using carrots and sticks at the

same time: on the one hand repression against activists of national movements was intensified, on the other hand it became possible to return to the homeland under limited conditions. The authorities intended to control the situation, lessening the influence of activists in this way. They also pursued the appearance of an orderly and fair process. This approach is suggestive of measures employed against dissident movements. This is quite natural, because both concerns were handled by the Fifth Department of the KGB, created as one of Andropov's first initiatives in July 1967 for struggle against "ideologically subversive activities."[29]

Let us now examine Andropov's approach, with Crimean Tatars as the main example.

The intensifying of repression against national movements under Andropov is widely known: the arrest of activists in the Chirchik affair of April 1968 is typical.[30] Much literature, mainly taken from the viewpoints of the activists and dissidents, emphasizes the stick side of Andropov's policy. However, the carrot of his policy attracts little attention, following uncritically the judgment of the repressed. I assume that the viewpoint of the oppressors might be reexamined without prejudice.

The carrot that I mean here is the 1967 decree on Crimean Tatars, permitting return to their homeland under the condition that it corresponds with "the law on employment and passport procedure." This is intended mainly for the masses, not activists. As mentioned above, activists enjoyed broad-based support from the masses. For this reason, the 1967 degrees are designed to drive a wedge into the harmonious relationship between national masses and nationalist activists.

All this corresponds to Andropov's political style: pursuit of the legitimating appearance of due process. In this light, a conviction for mass treason and prohibition of return are clearly legal discrimination against specific nationalities, and incapable of rational explanation. The Germans' decree in 1964 set a precedent for clearing accusations of mass treason and there was no "wronged party" to protest. On the other hand,

29 A. I. Kokurin and N. V. Petrov, eds., *Lubianka: Organy VChK-OGPU-NKVD-MGB-KGB, 1917–1991: Spravochnik* (Moscow, 2003), pp. 711–714; R. Medvedev, *Neizvestnyi Andropov* (Rostov-na-Donu, 1999), pp. 117–118. See also Zhores Medvedev, *Andropov* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).

30 Alexeyeva, *Soviet Dissent*, pp. 148–149.

it is less simple to lift the ban on return, let alone reestablishing autonomy. First of all, the authorities feared local economic turmoil stemming from the mass migration of the labor force. Resettlement and restoring autonomy were also potentially expensive.[31] To prevent the worst possible scenario, like the case of Chechens and other North Caucasian nationalities in 1956–1957 (in spite of a ban on return, they tried to go back to the homeland *en masse* and, as a result, compelled the authorities to restore their autonomies), the authorities worked out an alternative mechanism for controlling possible spontaneous migration, while avoiding any clear national discrimination. This was the requirement that all returnees be in compliance with "the law on employment and passport procedure." Here, a prohibition on return has been switched from overtones of national discrimination to that of the more general, even universal, issue of securing a job and lodging. In this manner, the authorities could demonstrate the carrot of policy, while resisting more persuasively criticism from the deported nations.

Judging from the official sources, conditional return as the carrot achieved definite success, at least in 1967. Mass gatherings in Kyrgyzstan to explain the 1967 decrees might serve as an example. They were held at every place of Crimean Tatars' residence, soon after the decrees' issuance. The party officials took complete control of proceeding, taking the initiative from the activists, and tried to create the conventional wisdom that it was not necessary to hurry the return, now that it was conditionally permitted. It was also reported that the activists "were isolated and at first in confusion" at the meeting. In fact, there were some critical attacks. One Crimean Tatar expressed dissatisfaction with the decree, comparing it to the emancipation from serfdom without land. Likewise, contrary to the authorities' hope, there was a rumor that the decrees were issued thanks to the activists. However, at least for the case of Kyrgyzstan, conditional permission for returning was in general received in a favorable light, and the authorities might have succeeded in isolating national movements from the masses and paralyzing them.[32]

31 Such an opinion was clearly declared at a meeting between the German delegation and Mikoyan in July 1965. See Auman and Chebotareva, *Istoriia rossiiskikh nemtsev*, vol. 2, p. 36.

32 RGANI (Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv noveishei istorii), f. 5 (Apparat TsK

Nevertheless, in spite of Andropov's intents, the carrot of the policy showed its defects in less than a year. In order to make the carrot policy a success, the Fifth Department of the KGB, long before the issuance of the decrees, asked the local authorities to accept a certain amount of returnees. However, their response was rather evasive. As a result, only the stick turned out to be spotlighted.

As far as Crimean Tatars were concerned, the Ukrainian authorities bowed to the pressure of the KGB just before the issue of the decrees and agreed to accept 200–300 returnees per annum by the officially sanctioned route.[33] However, official return to Crimea continued for only a few years. According to the official data, in 1968, 1,447 Tatars arrived, including 1,188 people by the official route, but, after that, the numbers diminished quickly: in 1969—1,041 (679 by the official route), in 1970—515 (277), in 1971—526 (391), and in 1972—only 86 Tatars, with no returnees by the official route. Summing up the number of returnees from 1967 to 1972, 3,418 Crimean Tatars (including 2,403 Tatars by the official route) had returned to the homeland.[34] Dissident sources claim smaller figures, but document the same general tendency.[35] These facts might be explained as follows: Crimean Tatar activists, thanks to contact with Moscow civil rights activists, made their activities more powerful and called for mass illegal return to Crimea,[36] whereas the local authorities in Crimea, originally not welcoming their arrival, had little patience to keep their agreement with the KGB, once confronted with the growing mass arrival of Crimean Tatars. As a result, the official resettlement was aborted and many "provocateurs" for mass return were arrested.[37]

KPSS), op. 59, d. 22, ll. 32–41.

33 F. D. Bobkov, *KGB i vlast'* (Moscow, 1995), pp. 301–302: I assume that Andropov's KGB succeeded in persuading Ukraine to accept returnees thanks to Brezhnev. In order to grab power, Brezhnev might have given support not to the First Secretary of the Ukrainian Party Shelest, who could become a rival in the regime, but to Andropov, who was appointed recently by Brezhnev himself.

34 RGANI, f. 5, op. 66, d. 107, l. 26.

35 Alexeyeva, *Soviet Dissent*, p. 145; Alan W. Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1978), p. 183.

36 Alexeyeva, *Soviet Dissent*, pp. 146–147.

37 According to the materials of the Supervision Department of the USSR Prosecutor-General's Office during the period from 1953 to 1991, arrests of Crimean Tatar activists

The case of the Meskhetian Turks was even worse. The objection of Mzhavanadze, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia, made their return *de facto* impossible. Because he was under the patronage of Brezhnev, the KGB could not compel Georgia to accept returnees on the model of the Crimean Tatars.[38] Certainly, following the decree of Moscow, the Bureau of the CC of the Communist Party of Georgia on May 31, 1968 decided to create in the Georgian CC a commission for the Meskhetian Turks issue, and in the beginning of July there was a meeting of regional party and Soviet representatives. However, what actually occurred was that some Meskhetian Turks, who appeared in Georgia during June and July, were re-deported from the Republic on the pretext of passport regulations.[39]

In this manner, the carrot of the Andropov approach had become a dead letter. However, the authorities did not try to bring it back to life, because the stick effectively worked on calming the national movements and, from the viewpoint of security measures, Andropov achieved his goal for a while. Accordingly, he continued to rely on a shell of the carrot, while executing the stick intensively.

As an aside, during 1972 to 1973 the Crimean party organization, annoyed with radical Crimean Tatar activists, repeatedly proposed to Moscow restricting immigration by invoking passport procedures, but the Central Committee in Moscow rejected this proposal in February 1974. It is assumed that here Uzbek opinion also played a definite role. On August 1973, Uzbek party authorities, also confronted with the intensified national movements of Crimean Tatars and Meskhetian Turks within their own republic, demanded the resumption of return by the official route. This is in some sense a conflict of regions trying to dump unreliable elements on each other. However, it is significant that Moscow, supporting the Uzbek side, gave a ruling that in order to neutralize

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rose rapidly at the end of the 1960s. See V. A. Kozlov and S. V. Mironenko, eds., *58[10]: nadzornye proizvodstva Prokuratury SSSR po delam ob antisovetskoi agitatsii i propagande, mart 1953–1991* (Moscow, 1999), pp. 23, 287, 569, 600, 678–679, 687, 692, 697, 701, 769, 802, 809, 813, 821.

38 Bobkov, *KGB i vlast'*, pp. 309–310.

39 RGANI, f. 5, op. 60, d. 5, ll. 22–25; Osipov, "Dvizhenie meskhetintsev za repatriatsiiu," p. 100.

the situation, residence permission under the established order is of great importance.[40] In other words, this event clearly demonstrated that the Andropov approach permitting return under specific conditions continued to be a basic policy for solving the problem of the deported nations. The carrot was required as a matter of form, even if it hardly functioned practically.

As just described, Andropov's policy was to take on the deported nations *en bloc* and implement the common measure of allowing return to the homeland by official sanction. It was executed mainly by the KGB as a security measure. The policy consisted of the carrot and the stick, but the former performed quite insufficiently owing to the objection of local authorities. Nevertheless, from the viewpoint of a security measure, the Andropov approach achieved acceptable success, especially among Crimean Tatars and Meskhetian Turks.

Attempt to Create New Autonomies for Deported Nations (1973–1982)

Germans' Mass Emigration to West Germany

Andropov's approach was finally applied to the Germans in November 1972. This must have been the last stage in his original plan to calm the claims of the deported nations. Indeed, Germans' return to the Volga region went smoothly. According to the official 1973 report of Saratov *oblast*, returnees were limited to no fewer than 200 Germans in that year. Despite the fact that an attempt to create a national organization by two German students was uncovered, the return migration was in general uneventful.[41] The 1974 report was no less peaceful, although the number of German arrivals in Saratov oblast during that year reached 700, including natural increase in population.[42] In this way, Germans' spontaneous migration to the Volga region did not occur. Measures against the

40 RGANI, f. 5, op. 64, d. 52, l. 50–53; op. 66, d. 107, ll. 22–30.

41 TsDNISO (Tsentr dokumentatsii noveishei istorii Saratovskoi oblasti), f. 594 (Saratovskii obkom KPSS), op. 14, d. 84, ll. 66–67.

42 TsDNISO, f. 594, op. 14, d. 98, ll. 85–87.

deported nations seemed to be approaching a successful end.

Behind the scenes, however, Germans initiated an unexpected action: they rushed to emigrate *en masse* to West Germany. The authorities of Kazakhstan were aware of a sharp increase of German emigration at the end of 1972, and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan discussed this problem in September 1973,[43] but it was only in October 1973 that the Moscow KGB sounded the alarm. According to the KGB report, the interior channel had received 1,809 German applications for migration to West Germany in 1970, and from that time on, it continued to increase rapidly: 2,617—in 1971, and 4,911—in 1972. In 1973, only in the first half of the year, it recorded 3,803 emigration applications from Germans. In addition to this, in June of that year, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet received a mass petition with 35,000 German signatures, all asking for permission to leave the USSR.[44]

The KGB assumed that the rapid growth of those who wished to emigrate must be the result of agitprop maneuvers, both domestic and foreign. In West Germany, especially after the first successes of *Ostpolitik*, various organizations intensified assistance for Soviet Germans' emigration. Following this lead, in various regions of the USSR, activists began to demonstrate for permission to exit. For example, the so-called "Initiative Committee" was organized in Estonia. In contact with church groups in Kazakhstan, it was secretly engaged in making a list of emigration applicants and collecting contributions. Meanwhile, in Karaganda of the Kazakh Republic, an attempt to establish an organization committee for assistance in emigration was prevented by the authorities. In general, their public demonstrations were spreading in the USSR.[45]

In fact, emigration to West Germany was observed also in the 1960s. However, it was so limited a stream as to be regarded as an exceptional phenomenon, mainly concerned with those seeking religious asylum. Besides, among those who emigrated, some Germans, disillusioned with

43 Karpykova, *Iz istorii nemtsev Kazakhstana*, pp. 263–264.

44 RGANI, f. 5, op. 66, d. 105, ll. 4–5.

45 RGANI, f. 5, op. 66, d. 105, ll. 9, 28; See also Alexeyeva, *Soviet Dissent*, pp. 171–172; Eisfeld, *Die Russlanddeutschen*, p. 145; V. Brul', "Assotsiatsiia nemtsev, zhelaiushchikh vyekhat' iz SSSR," in V. Karev et al., eds., *Nemtsy Rossii: entsiklopediia*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1999), pp. 85–86.

the harsh realities of capitalistic society, later returned to the USSR. Accordingly, the authorities could still deal with Germans' emigration calmly, considering that it was enough to take the countermeasure of propagandizing the cases of those who returned to the USSR.[46]

The emigration in the 1970s, however, was different from that of the 1960s in various respects. Aside from diplomatic pressure from West Germany, there were appreciable changes in domestic factors. Firstly, emigration in the 1970s was on a broader scale: there was almost ten times the number of those who left for West Germany (its annual scale changed from hundreds at the end of the 1960s to thousands in the 1970s).[47] Secondly, although religion still played an important role in attracting Soviet Germans to their historical homeland (cooperation between the emigration committee and religious groups was mentioned above), other factors contributed to their decision: many Germans left the USSR in despair, complaining that they were discriminated against and their national rights were not satisfied. "We do not feel at home here" was a typical statement of departing Germans.[48]

What confused the authorities was the fact that successful experiences in the 1960s had no effect on restraining the growing mass emigration of Germans. Propaganda articles in the national newspaper about the miserable life of West Germany, that had achieved some success until the end of the 1960s, showed no more results in the 1970s.[49] In fact, the authorities were ill-prepared for this situation and activists' maneuvers: the authorities only prepared measures common to Crimean Tatars and Meskhetian Turks, offering limited return to the Volga region.

Unlike the issue of Crimean Tatars and Meskhetian Turks that was practically a domestic matter, German emigration was all the more complicated because it involved foreign relations. The authorities worked out measures only on the assumption that after lifting prohibition on return Germans would go back to the Volga region from which they had been displaced. However, Germans by birth had another homeland—their historical homeland abroad from which their ancestors had settled

46 RGANI, f. 5, op. 61, d. 32, ll. 11–13.
47 Sidney Heitman, "Soviet Germans," *Central Asian Survey* 12, no. 1 (1993), p. 78.
48 Karpykova, *Iz istorii nemtsev Kazakhstana*, pp. 268–270.
49 Karpykova, *Iz istorii nemtsev Kazakhstana*, pp. 270, 274.

over two centuries before. Germans in the 1970s rushed to migrate to this old homeland—West Germany (they refused East Germany almost completely because of the similar regime to that of the USSR).

Clearly, new measures were needed to deal with the emerging unexpected situation.

German Autonomy Plan and Tselinograd Incident

The Politburo of CC CPSU, at the meeting on August 6, 1976, decided to create a special commission, discussing measures against an unexpected growth of Germans emigrating.[50] Yuri Andropov was appointed chairman of the commission. Soon after the appointment as KGB chairman in May 1967, Andropov tackled problems of the deported nations and, taking the 1967 decrees on Crimean Tatars as a model, established an approach common to the deported nations. However, compelled to reconsider it because of Germans' mass emigration to West Germany, he once again took an initiative to work out a new approach.

On August 1978, after two years of discussion, the Andropov commission submitted a report: its core was to grant Germans national-territorial autonomy. It was determined that the German autonomous oblast must be established in northeastern Kazakhstan on the basis of five *raion*s, belonging to the Karaganda, Kokchetav, Pavlodar and Tselinograd oblasts, and its administrative center would be located in the city of Ermentau. The new autonomy was to have a territory with 46,000 square kilometers and a population of 202,000 (among them about 30,000 Germans, approximately 15 percent of the population). It was hoped that the German autonomy would play a decisive role in keeping Germans in the USSR, especially in Kazakhstan, where they were regarded as indispensable agricultural workers. As far as the possibility of creating autonomy in the Volga region was concerned, to the contrary, it was simply rejected on the grounds that Germans did not live and had no historical roots in this region.

On May 31, 1979, the Politburo meeting approved the commission's proposal to create the German autonomous oblast.[51] In Proceedings of

50 Auman and Chebotareva, *Istoriia rossiiskikh nemtsev* (1993), pp. 190–192.

51 RGANI, f. 89 (Kollektsiia rassekrechennykh dokumentov), op. 25, d. 3, ll. 1–2.

this meeting there can be found no serious discussion: it proceeded in a matter-of-fact way, only confirming that the autonomy plan was also supported by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, five seats in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR might be distributed for the new autonomy, and its establishment must precede the forthcoming local Soviet election.

However, it should be noted that the German autonomy plan was not prepared independently. According to the words of the meeting, after the establishment of the German autonomous oblast the Politburo also intended to grant Crimean Tatars territorial autonomy in Uzbekistan as an autonomous *okrug*. Unfortunately, I have no more detailed information about the Crimean Tatars' autonomy. Once it was assumed that the autonomous region would be located in Dzhizak oblast (the center-north of Uzbekistan), inferring from the fact that a Crimean Tatar communist was appointed as the first secretary of the party *obkom* in 1974.[52] Nowadays, as a result of interviews from Crimean Tatars, an opinion that the "Mubarek republic" was intended to be established at the city of Mubarek (in the center-south Uzbekistan) in Kashkadaria *oblast* prevails.[53] In any case, further research on this plan is needed.

Suffering from the authorities' insidious repression, the Crimean Tatars' national movement in the 1970s went into a gradual decline: many active and influential activists were convicted, and the national movement was unable to present a vision for return to Crimea. However, the authorities could still not ignore it, because desperate individual attempts to return to Crimea did not cease: in 1978 repeated suicides of Crimean Tatars occurred, protesting against their forcible expulsion from Crimea. Taking countermeasures against returnees, the Council of Ministers of the USSR issued a resolution on August 1978, strengthening passport regulations in Crimea.[54] That is why the authorities found it necessary to take additional measures against Crimean Tatars (although with less priority than Germans).

52 Alexeyeva, *Soviet Dissent*, p. 158.

53 Williams, *The Crimean Tatars*, pp. 430–432; Uehling, *Beyond Memory*, p. 161.

54 Alexeyeva, *Soviet Dissent*, pp. 150–155. On the resolution on August 1978, see Bugai and Gonov, "*Po resheniiu pravitel'stva,*" pp. 799–800; Bugai, *Deportatsiia narodov Kryma*, p. 196.

In order to deal with situations unexpected by security measures in the second half of the 1960s, Andropov set about constructing a revised approach and decided to modify the state apparatus. That is, to give autonomous territory to the deported nations, not at the place of previous residence but at the place of exile. In other words, in order to relieve their thirst for autonomous territory, without which, the deported nations believed, they could not enjoy their full rights in the USSR, the KGB chairman intended to establish for them a new homeland at the place of exile that enabled them to resist the attraction of their old homeland (for Germans – West Germany, for Crimean Tatars – Crimea). For this new approach guaranteeing a membership of the Soviet regime by granting territorial autonomy, German autonomy was the first attempt, and, after its success, it must have been followed by that of the Crimean Tatars.

Meskhetian Turks were not considered for autonomy, nor for minimal national rights. Their national movement in the 1970s suffered from an identity crisis: confronted with deadlock when the Georgian authorities strongly rejected their return, their national movement was divided into three groups.[55] On the other hand, those who saw a ray of hope from the authorities, in October 1974, presented a petition to the USSR Prime Minister Kosygin. They implored Moscow to authorize them to be one of the nationalities in the USSR, deserving of some national rights (their own newspaper, TV-radio programming and folkdance ensemble). However, their demand was rejected simply because they were so small in number.[56]

Moscow's approval for creating the German autonomous oblast was conveyed to the Kazakh side soon after the Politburo meeting on May 31. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, after field investigation by the preparatory committee for German autonomy,

55 Osipov, "Vliianie gosudarstvennoi ideologii," p. 38; Osipov, "Dvizhenie meskhetintsev za repatriatsiiu," pp. 101, 104.

56 RGANI, f. 5, op. 67, d. 112, ll. 92–101. Their small number in official statistics is mainly caused by disorder of nationality registration on passports soon after their "evacuation" to Central Asia in 1944: they were classified into two nationalities on their passports: the majority was registered on their passports as Azerbaijani, minority—Turks. See Osipov, "Vliianie gosudarstvennoi ideologii," p. 37.

offered Moscow concrete suggestions about the autonomous area's boundary on June 15. A ceremony commemorating the establishment of the German autonomous oblast was scheduled for June 18. It was decided unofficially to appoint Andrei Braun, a German who served as the first secretary of a *raion* party organization in Tselinograd oblast, to head the German autonomous oblast.[57]

In Kazakhstan, all was made ready for the creation of the German autonomous oblast, but, it was all in vain because of the Tselinograd incident.[58] On June 16, Kazakh students in the city of Tselinograd organized a demonstration against German autonomy. The second meeting on June 19, joined by ordinary citizens from areas around Tselinograd, swelled to more than several thousand participants. Confronted with a mass protest of such scale, the local authorities had to cancel the plan. The Tselinograd incident, as a result, led to the abortion of Andropov's new approach towards the deported nations: it was officially withdrawn by CC CPSU of Moscow on February 1980.[59]

Granting territorial autonomy to the deported nations was not completely abandoned by Andropov. At the beginning of the 1980s, the possibility of creating German autonomy in the Volga region was explored by Moscow.[60] However, there was no enough time for this to be realized during Andropov's life. It was not until Gorbachev's era that the next noticeable action would be taken. On the other hand, according to interviews from Crimean Tatars, an attempt to put the "Mubarek Republic"

57 Auman and Chebotareva, *Istoriia rossiiskikh nemtsev* (1993), p. 196; M. Sh. Omarov and A. G. Kaken, *Poznanie sebia: k voprosu nesostoiavsheisia nemetskoi avtonomii v Kazakhstane* (Almaty, 1998), pp. 44–47; A. Bosch, "Erinnerung an den kurzen Traum vom 'Sowjetdeutschen Jermentau'," *Volk auf dem Weg* 38, no. 5 (1988), p. 21.

58 On more detailed account of Tselinograd incident, see Han'ia, "Tselinograd, iiun' 1979g." See also K. Erlikh, "Sud'ba i liudi," *Sobesednik* (prilozhenie k *Komsomol'skoi pravde*) 52 (1989), p. 13; V. Vladimirov, "Kremlevskaia karusel'," *Feniks* 1 (1993), pp. 287–309 (especially, pp. 299–300); Omarov and Kaken, *Poznanie sebia*, pp. 53–70; O. Dik, "Iiun'skii urok 1979 goda," *Vostochnyi Ekspress* 11 (2000) p. 32.

59 Auman and Chebotareva, *Istoriia rossiiskikh nemtsev* (1993), p. 199.

60 HAN'IA Siro [HANYA Shiro], "Ot sozdanii k vosstanovleniiu: nemetskaia avtonomiia v planakh v 1980-kh godakh," in *Kliuchevye problemy istorii rossiiskikh nemtsev* (Moscow, 2004), pp. 134–148 (especially, pp. 135–136); HANYA Shiro, "1980 nendai Voruga chiho no Doitsu jichiryo keikaku" [Plans of German autonomy in the Volga region in the 1980s], *Nenpo chiiki kenkyu* 8 (2004) pp. 153–171 (especially, pp. 154–155).

into practice also continued during the 1980s.[61]

Images of Enemy Nations and Growing National Consciousness

As described above, Andropov's new attempt to create national-territorial autonomy for Germans failed completely. In contrast to his first attempt from the second half of the 1960s—security measures under the charge of the KGB, this time involved large-scale planning, extending to reforming the state apparatus. In this sense, resolving the conflict of interests within the authorities was far more complicated than the previous attempt, and failure might have been inevitable. However, I strongly suspect that creating a new autonomous area failed because it kindled sensitive aspects of the nationalities issue. I would like to pay special attention to the following two points. The first is the image of the deported nations as the enemy. This was a holdover from wartime and never vanished, even following the official rehabilitation decrees. The second is the growing national consciousness of the titular nation within their autonomy. Collision between this two factors, I venture to think, caused the Tselinograd incident.

Let us start with the concept of enemy nations.

As described above, accusation against the deported nations as mass treason had already been withdrawn (for Germans—by the 1964 decree, for Crimean Tatars—by the 1967 decree). However, according to a field report written by Moscow officials after the incident, some participants in the Tselinograd incident abused Germans, saying "We don't give ancestral lands to fascists."[62] "Fascist" is a word of abuse in Russian, but it is obvious that in this context Soviet Germans were identified with Nazi Germany. Although over 30 years had passed since the end of the war, the incident demonstrated that wartime memories about Germans as the enemy were still deep-rooted.

As an aside, the same can also be said for Crimean Tatars. In 1977, the first secretary of the Dzhizak *obkom* in Uzbekistan S. Tairov (Crimean Tatar by nationality) asked for Moscow's help to publish memoirs about Crimean Tatars' partisan activity during the war. It was written by an

61 Williams, *The Crimean Tatars*, pp. 430–432.

62 Auman and Chebotareva, *Istoriia rossiiskikh nemtsev* (1993), p. 196.

old Crimean Tatar partisan, and in 1971 had already been published in Crimean Tatar. However, when the memoirs' author tried to publish a Russian version in 1975, the Crimean *obkom*, who was asked to read its copy for consultation, opposed it: the Crimean party officials took the memoirs as a dangerous attempt to rehabilitate accomplices of Nazi Germany. As a result, Tairov was accused of haste and his proposal was withdrawn.[63] This example suggests that the image of Crimean Tatars as traitors was burned into brains of party officials in Crimea, although accusation of mass treason had been removed long before by official decrees.

It is not unreasonable to assume that preserving the image of enemy nations might be caused by the political significance of the Great Patriotic War (World War II) in the USSR. As is well known, the Great Patriotic War played an important role to unify postwar Soviet society. The authorities made active use of it, becoming aware of its influence on the population, no less than the 1917 Revolution. Since war and enemy are inseparably related by nature, it might be inevitable that more attention would be given to the Great Patriotic War, the more often the image of enemy nations during the war were brought to the fore.

Nevertheless, we may misunderstand the essence of the incident if we only give an eye to the image of the enemy nation. I think that a more decisive factor contributing to the incident lies with Kazakhs rather than Germans. At the meeting in Tselinograd, as is evident from photographs at the time, demonstrators carried banners with the following slogans: "The Republic of Kazakhstan is great, but it is single for all," "Long live the single and indivisible Kazakhstan." "No German autonomy, long live the Kazakh SSR."[64] From these slogans, we can easily see a national consciousness of Kazakhs.

In order to examine this point, I would like to present an interesting survey about the interethnic relations in the USSR. These interviews were undertaken with 200 Soviet Germans who emigrated to West Germany between February and September 1979 (among them, Germans who lived in Kazakhstan amount to about one-third of all interview-

63 RGANI, f. 5, op. 73, d. 191, ll. 1–17.

64 Omarov and Kaken, *Poznanie sebia*, p. 53 and photo-appendix with no page number (between page 64 and 65). See also Auman and Chebotareva, *Istoriia rossiiskikh nemtsev* (1993), p. 196.

ees).[65]

According to responses from Germans, in the 1970s Kazakhs increased powers in all aspects of life (67 percent of all respondents) and tended to regard their republic as the place where they should have a right to preferential treatment. For example, Germans responded that in the case of everyday troubles Kazakhs frequently added the justification "this is our land" or "we are the masters of this land" to their demands. Further given as evidence by the Germans, in 1978 there was a controversy at Alma-Ata University on the grounds of priority admission. The clash was triggered by Kazakh claims that too few of their own were admitted to the university, but finally escalated to physical violence with the slogan "Russians should leave Kazakhstan." The happenings illustrate that controversy over national issues can easily escalate into a broader conflict. Germans also observed that Kazakhs were occupying more and higher positions than ever, and acting with growing confidence that they were the masters of Kazakhstan.[66] On the other hand, Germans accepted this trend with resignation. It is said that many Germans described the preferential treatment of Kazakh, sighing "it is their republic."[67]

Kazakhs' behavior shown in the interviews reminds us of that of the Tselinograd incident. Especially, the events at Alma-Ata University in 1978 foreshadow the Tselinograd incident. It is difficult to assume that a similarity like this might be repeated accidentally: obviously, this was not an accident, but rather inevitable. In other words, the Tselinograd incident was certainly triggered by the German autonomy plan, but it was the national consciousness among Kazakhs that played a more decisive role in the incident.

This trend, it could be said, also contributed to Germans' choice of mass emigration in the 1970s. As described above, German emigrants in the 1960s were a quite limited group consisting of those who sought re-

65 Rasma Karklins, *Ethnic Relations in the USSR: The Perspective from Below* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1986). There was no reference in this monograph to the Tselinograd incident.

66 Karklins, *Ethnic Relations in the USSR*, pp. 52–53, 65, 80–84. The same trend can be observed in an incident on January 1973 in which Kazakh students in Alma-Ata handed out handbills with the slogan "Kazakhstan for Kazakhs." See Kozlov and Mironenko, *58[10]*, p. 774.

67 Karklins, *Ethnic Relations in the USSR*, p. 66.

ligious asylum, whereas in the 1970s they had more wide-ranging reasons for departure, and their number increased almost tenfold. As well, I also mentioned that many emigrants in the 1970s left the USSR in despair, saying "We do not feel at home here." This distinctive change between the 1960s and the 1970s could be understood persuasively, if reminded of the growing national consciousness of Kazakhs in the 1970s. That is, the more Kazakhs acted as the masters of Kazakhstan, the more Germans tended to choose emigration to West Germany, seeking the place where Germans could act just like Kazakhs in Kazakhstan. Consequently, it is safe to assume that Germans' mass emigration in the 1970s, as well as the Tselinograd incident, was affected by the rise of Kazakhs' national consciousness. In short, the authorities had misread the growing national consciousness of Kazakhs that resulted in mass emigration of Germans and the Tselinograd incident.

The authorities had different views from the general populace about what autonomy really was. For Moscow it was only a final trump card to solve the problem of the deported nations. There is much evidence supporting this claim. The Andropov committee rejected the possibility of creating an autonomous area in the Volga region simply on the grounds that Germans have no historical roots in this region. However, the fact is that Germans had settled around Saratov in the middle of the eighteenth century, whereas they had "put down roots" in Kazakhstan only for the last several decades after deportation in 1941. It is nothing but expedient interpretation about historical roots, attaching more importance to the function that autonomy might play in keeping them in Kazakhstan. This is also true for the republican authorities. It was an extension of republican interests that the local authorities of Kazakhstan paid more attention to. For example, the first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Kunaev expressed to a colleague his opinion welcoming German autonomy, because "we can gain additional seats in the Supreme Soviet."[68] In each case there was no consideration about the sensitive side of the autonomy affecting Kazakhs, and rather functional and utilitarian interpretations about autonomy dominated. This trend even goes back to the Khrushchev era. In order to stop spontaneous migration of

68 M. Isinaliev, "Kak nemtsam avtonomiiu sozdavali," *Novoe pokolenie* 45 (November 15–21, 1996), p. 4.

Chechens to the North Caucasus in 1956, the central authorities explored the possibility of creating a Chechen-Ingush autonomy in Central Asia. A Kalmyk autonomy plan in Siberia was also presented by the Altai local authorities.[69]

On the other hand, Kazakhs in the 1970s tended more and more to regard autonomy as a vested right. The German autonomy plan was unacceptable for them, because it harmed their vested interests as a titular nation. Nevertheless, the authorities dared to carry the German autonomy plan into action and confronted unexpectedly strong objections from the Kazakh people. That was the Tselinograd incident.

To sum up the Andropov's attempt to create new autonomies for the deported nations, it could be concluded as following. Concerning the German problem, the authorities had a will to implement a reform of the state apparatus and in fact tried to put it in action. However, confronted with unexpectedly strong objections from the Kazakh public, they were forced to withdraw the plan. In this sense, I can agree with one of Fowkes' estimations of Brezhnev's nationalities policy as "corporatist compromise," calling to mind Kazakhs' strong consciousness to regard their autonomy as a vested right. However, as far as the deported nations are concerned, his estimations of Brezhnev's nationalities policy as "masterly inactivity" certainly needs a revision. The authorities did not prefer unvarying policy as argued by Fowkes. They indeed prepared to reform in order to meet new situations, but they were *incapable* of accomplishing reform while controlling mass movements.[70]

Conclusion

This paper examined the nationalities policy of the Brezhnev era, especially focusing on the case of three deported nations, the Germans, Crimean Tatars, and Meskhetian Turks. All three national movements, as they evolved in the Khrushchev and Brezhnev eras, demanded retraction of the wartime mass treason charge, the right of return to their homelands, and the restoration of the abolished autonomous territory

69 Han'ia, "Sekretnyi doklad N. S. Khrushcheva," pp. 150, 155.
70 Fowkes, "The National Question," pp. 68–70, 77.

(this last did not apply to Meskhetian Turks). At first the authorities were at a loss, but with the appointment of Yuri Andropov as KGB Chairman in May 1967, a decision was made to take the deported nations *en bloc* and implement common measures that allowed return by an official and well-regulated route. It was executed mainly by the KGB as a security measure. The policy consisted of the carrot and the stick, but the former performed quite insufficiently owing to objections from local authorities. Nevertheless, from the viewpoint of a security measure, Andropov's approach achieved an acceptable success, especially towards Crimean Tatars and Meskhetian Turks.

In the 1970s, unexpectedly for the authorities, Germans began to emigrate to West Germany. The authorities were confused by this situation, because successful experiences in the 1960s had no effect of restraining growing mass emigration of Germans. In order to deal with this situation, the authorities (Andropov acting as leader) decided to work out a new approach, namely, the creation of the German autonomous oblast in Kazakhstan. Following the Germans' example, it was intended to grant Crimean Tatars territorial autonomy in Uzbekistan at an administrative rank of an autonomous *okrug*. Among the deported nations, only Meskhetian Turks were not the subject of creating an autonomous area, nor of minimum national rights, because of their small numbers.

However, it was all in vain because of the Tselinograd incident on June 1979. There are several causes of the incident. Preserving an image of enemy nations certainly might have played a role, but a more decisive factor contributing to the incident lies in the growing national consciousness of the Kazakhs. The incident occurred because there were different views of autonomy between the authorities and the Kazakhs. The former considered autonomy only as a final trump card to solve the problem of the deported nations, whereas Kazakhs, regarding their republic as the locus of preferential treatment, opposed the German autonomy plan as an attempt to infringe on their vested rights.

9

Ashirbek MUMINOV

Fundamentalist Challenges to Local Islamic Traditions in Soviet and Post-Soviet Central Asia

The intense processes of an Islamic rebirth can be observed throughout the independent states of Central Asia. The great significance given to the topics of the role of international Islamic organizations and medieval Islamic (Hanafi and Sufi) traditions in research demonstrates the influence that these forces have had on these countries. However, the developmental tendencies and modification of Islam during the Soviet period, especially the formation of new theological forms and fundamentalist thought that appeared in this period somehow remains in the shadows.[1]

The Historical Role of Ulama

Religious authorities can play a crucial role in the creation of stable rela-

1 Recent publications related to this theme include: Achirbek Muminov, "Chami-damulla et son rôle dans la constitution d'un 'islam soviétiques'," in Marlène Laruelle and Sébastien Peyrouse, eds., *Islam et politique en ex-URSS (Russie d'Europe et Asie centrale)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2005), pp. 241–261; Devin DeWeese, "Islam and the Legacy of Sovietology: A Review Essay on Yaacov Ro'i's *Islam in the Soviet Union*," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 13, no. 3 (2002), pp. 298–330; Allen J. Frank and Jahangir Mamatov, *Uzbek Islamic Debates: Texts, Translations, and Commentary* (Springfield: Dunwoody Press, 2006).

tions between the state and religious community (as equally as the role they can play in the destabilization of these relations). It has long been noted that the teachings of Islam have been cultivated and developed by generations of ulama—religiously educated people who retain the status of private individuals that simultaneously are leading representatives of civil society—at all stages of its development. In medieval Islamic societies the government, as is well known, did not have special prerogatives to develop their own religious themes to balance the power of the ulama. In time, the government accustomed itself to these conditions and sought to regulate intricate and complicated religious matters by using the ulama. Very often the discussion of questions of religious belief could turn into societal confrontation and cause social instability. A widespread method for overcoming social excesses in the early Islamic period was a declaration of a pro-governmental position by some popular theologian from a public place—in a cathedral or municipal mosque or in the bazaar. This often had the opposite effect than intended. Civil society turned on the ulama that lost his societal authority. However, conformism appeared repeatedly among the theologians.

As historical research has demonstrated, from the very beginning of Islamization of Central Asia in the first half of the eighth century the conducting of any religious event by the ulama had a dual context—a religious and a social one. In the latter case, a religious event could express the vital interests, especially against the government, of this or that group of the population. For these, Islam became a form for the furthering of their social and economic interests, and the expression of social protest. In this manner, the ulama in essence were social activists.

Another effective governmental method was their attempts to create something similar to a hierarchy and the targeted financing of Islamic networks and systems of confessional organization. Even in the years of "infidel" rule (by the Qara-Qitays and Mongols between 1137 to 1370) governmental activities retained this mechanism for the peaceful settlement of conflicts. A social dialogue that took account of multiple, mutual interests as well as tolerance served as a guarantee of social stability over an extended period of medieval history.

The appearance of the Russian Empire on the scene created a principally new situation in Central Asia and traditions created over centuries

began to be violated. This appeared in a policy followed by Tsarist governor-generals and, through inertia, the early Soviet government that has been dubbed the "ignoring of Islam."[2] However, such a "vagueness and indecisiveness" on the side of Orthodox and, then, atheist Russia did not mean the absence of repressive policies. It is enough to remember measures taken against confessional, Islamic education through the nationalization of the *waqf*s,[3] of the ending of state finance for religious institutions, and the persecution of active Muslim clergy—Sufis and Sufism in the period following the Andijan uprising (1898). As a result of the insufficiently considered policies of Tsarist Russia, the historic chance for cooperation and dialogue with the local ulama was missed. All of the above mentioned measures of the government in the Turkestan Governor-Generalship, contradicting the logic of local traditions, earned the distrust of the ulama and even lead a number into the hidden or open opposition.[4]

2 This seems like an imprecise assertion. The "ignoring of Islam" is not to be understood literally, as witnessed by the hundreds of secret documents related to the "Muhammadan question" produced by the authorities of the Governor-Generalship beginning with Vrevskii. It is possible and proper to speak of the ignoring of the social significance of Islam, the incorrect understanding of its role in the life of the local peoples, and therefore the rejection of methods of direct interference. Also, the destruction of the *waqf* system did not really happen during Tsarist times. Even in the areas of colonized Turkestan, the government limited itself to revisions of *waqf* property, which, as is obvious from surviving documents, were of strictly economic interest to the new government (roads, canals, new quarters for Russian settlement, etc.). Although in principle the Tsarist government damaged the interests of the confessional education system, only government sponsorship was really withdrawn. It was actually the Soviet government that began mass repressions, which, by the way, definitely did not "ignore" Islam, but, just the opposite, had a very fine understanding of the "competitive significance" of religion. Exactly for this reason, the blow was delivered to the economic basis of the religion (and it was in 1926–1928 that the *waqf*s were destroyed).

3 The Tsarist government tried to keep to the letter of the law in conducting its revisions. A *waqf* was suspended in certain cases—when there were violations of all of the conditions of the *waqf*'s documents themselves and when no money, harvest, or goods from the *waqf* flowed into the madrasa or mosques; when the true heirs of the first *mutawalli* (manager) were already dead; when the land or other property, belonging to the *waqf*, was discarded (the land was not being worked, or nothing was sold in the stores), and the like.

4 All the same, the position of the ulama in relations to the colonizers was disparate, see Bakhtiiar Babadzhanov, "Russian Colonial Power in Central Asia As Seen by Local Muslim

Islam under the Soviet Regime

The majority of researchers find the religious policies of the Soviet states repressive, and this evaluation is more or less correct.[5] The constant pressure on religion and its carriers (ulama and believers) was the main constituent constant in the totally anti-religious policy during the existence of the Soviet regime.[6] Significant studies of Islam in Central Asia during the Soviet period that have been published to date are (see footnote 5), with a few exceptions, based upon a very limited amount of material stored in official archives. In addition, most researchers did not have an Islamic studies background or any experience of researching the peculiarities of religion in Central Asia. Maybe for these reasons the researchers cited examine only the political context of the problem, which can hardly be called proper approach.

New research and rediscovered materials demonstrate that the issues of religious (including repressive) policies in the Soviet period are much more diverse and profound. For example, aspects of the problem, such as official measures directed at the destruction of "national," "local" and "popular" Islam from within deserve special focus. As far as the early Islamic period in the region is concerned, little studied problems, such as the birth and evolution of ideas of Islamic socialism and Jadidism, are developing a special salience in modern times.[7] The former idea proved

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Intellectuals," in Beate Eschment and Hans Harder, eds., *Looking at the Coloniser: Cross-Cultural Perceptions in Central Asia and the Caucasus, Bengal, and Related Areas* (Berlin: Ergon Verlag, 2004), pp. 75–90.

5 Shoshana Keller, *To Moscow, Not Mecca: The Soviet Campaign Against Islam in Central Asia, 1917–1941* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001); Alexandre Bennigsen and Marie Broxup, *The Islamic Threat to the Soviet State* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983); Alexandre Bennigsen and S. Enders Wimbush, *Mystics and Commissars: Sufism in the Soviet Union* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

6 The era of Gorbachev's reforms when it is more appropriate to speak of the pressure that the ulama exerted on government organs is an exception (the author is currently studying relevant documents, ultimatums, and information with B. Babadzhanov). Such a transformation of the position from forced-subordinate to impatient can be viewed as a result of the reaction of Islamic theologians to the previous repressive policies of the states as well as to the international context—as part of general political processes affecting the Muslim world.

7 Bakhtiyar M. Babadjanov, "From Colonization to Bolshevization: Some Political and

useful in overcoming civil society's internal opposition to Soviet rule after the abolishment of the quasi-independent, state-like institutions/protectorates on the territory of the Bukhara khanate/emirate and the Khiva khanate in 1920. The idea of Jadid intellectuals, treated as "suspicious" by the Tsarist authorities, also played a positive role, initially in the weakening and then the complete liquidation of the network of Islamic confessional institutions. The activities of Munavvar-Qari Abdurrashidkhanov (killed in 1931) and the Main Waqf Directorate (1923–1926) of the People's Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros) is especially demonstrative in this regard. It should be pointed out that both ideas were born as by-products of such ideas as "useful, progressive Islam" (*taraqqiparvar*), the implementation of secular discipline in the system of confessional education, and the like.

However, those are topics for separate research. This paper concentrates on the appearance and spread of the ideas of Islamic fundamentalism in the region during the Soviet period. This topic is tied to the name and activities of Shami-Damulla, an important scholar and immigrant theologian from the Arabian provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

Shami-Damulla

Shami-Damulla's full name was Sa'id ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahid ibn 'Ali al-'Asali al-Tarablusi al-Shami al-Dimashqi and he was born between 1867 and 1870 in the Lebanese city of Tarablus, dying around the age of 65 in Khorezm in 1932.[8] Born in an Arab province of the Ottoman Empire and having studied at the Egyptian religious university of Al-Azhar, he had visited Iran, Afghanistan, and Kashmir. The rich events of that epoch and the theological circles he associated with

Legislative Aspects of Molding a 'Soviet Islam' in Central Asia," in Wallace Johnson and Irina F. Popova, eds., *Central Asian Law: An Historical Overview; A Festschrift for the Ninetieth Birthday of Herbert Franke* (Lawrence, KS: Society for Asian Legal History, The University of Kansas, 2004), pp. 153–171.

8 On him, see Ashirbek Muminov, "Shami-damulla i ego rol' v formirovanii 'sovetskogo islama'," in "Materialy mezhdunarodnoi konferentsii 'Islam, identichnost' i politika v postsovotskom prostranstve: sravnitel'nyi analiz Tsentral'noi Azii i evropeiskoi chasti Rossii,' 1-2 aprelia 2004 g., Kazan'," special issue, *Kazanskii federalist* 1 (2005), pp. 231–247.

had a certain influence on the formation of his political and theological views. This theological traveler is famous for his long (about 15–20 years) puritanical activities in Eastern Turkestan. This was an attempt to reorient "local Islam" to the traditional cannon; that is, keeping closer to the *hadith*s.[9] Shami-Damulla arrived in Tashkent from Beijing on February 13, 1919. Evidently, his arrival in the capital of Western Turkestan was facilitated by his good relations with the Russian consul in Kashgar.[10]

Publicly defeating the leading local theologian Shah-Maqsud-Qari in a public dispute, Shami-Damulla became the leading theologian and religious authority in Tashkent in 1919.[11] He found support, foremostly, among citizens involved in commerce. Now Shami-Damulla could move from a secondary mosque in the Uzbek quarter (*mahalla)* where he initially settled to the Dasturkhanchi madrassa, which was located in the central quarter of Degrez (on the old town square of Hadra). This quarter was located in the area of Tashkent's central market (*Eski shahar bazari*), where the population would naturally come from all over the city. Shami-Damulla knowledgably criticized the teachings of the Hanafi *madhhab* and Sufism, as well as different local manifestations of popular Islam (various hallowed sites, funeral rites, and the conducting of weddings, ceremonies, and the like). His positions in relation to local Islam impressed the Soviet government for a long time and were successfully

9 Qurban-'Ali Khalidi, *An Islamic Biographical Dictionary of the Eastern Kazakh Steppe: 1770–1912*, ed. Allen J. Frank and Mirkasyim A. Usmanov (Leiden: Brill, 2005), p. 70; Mulla Musa ibn Mulla 'Isa-Khwaja Sayrami, *Ta'rikh-i hamidi* (Beijing: Millatlar Nashriyati, 1986), pp. 669–702.

10 The articles in the newspaper of the Communist Party of Uzebkistan *Qizil O'zbekiston* written in 1925 to discredit Shami-Damulla hinted at such cooperation. "Shami-domullaning oq salla tashviqotchilari," *Qizil O'zbekiston*, April 16, 1925; Bobir, "Qay yerga borsalar tinch turmaydilar," *Qizil O'zbekiston*, May 17, 1925, p. 4.

11 The topic of their debate was the *hadith*s. According to surviving accounts, Shah-Maqsud-Qari (by Shami-Damulla's demand) was not able to quote from a single *hadith* by the classical method; that is, did not call upon the full chain of transmitters (*isnad)* and *hadith* texts from the "authentic" series (*sahih*). After this, Shami-Damulla publicly ridiculed him, knocking the turban—a symbol of erudition—off his head with a stick. From this day onward, all of the scholars attending Shami-Damulla's courses left their turbans at home and went to class in their skull-caps (oral information collected in 2003 from 'Abd al-Jabbar 'Azimov, born in 1933 in Tashkent).

utilized in the struggle against religion and local religious figures. Shami-Damulla's thought flowed in a fundamentalist manner. He completely rejected the inheritance of the medieval ulama, called for the development of new judgments returning to the roots of Islam—the Qur'an and the authentic *hadith*s of the Prophet. He announced his own *fatwa*s on modern issues. Shami-Damulla's main weapon in the struggle against local Islam was the topic of the *hadith*s.

A quote from one of Shami-Damulla's own compositions clearly demonstrates this:

> . . . It will be enough for us to mention from them his sublime words directed to honorable spouses and true believing mothers—may Allah be please with them—where he[12] said, "Remember what is read in your homes from the *aya*s [verses] of Allah, the sign of wisdom;" that is, from the Qur'an and the *Sunna* of the Prophet, as well as his words from the *hadith*—may Allah bless welcome him: "The Heaven sent the book and together with it that which is similar to it," that is, the Qur'an and the *hadith*. That which is not mentioned in the Qur'an is put into the *hadith*.[13] . . . And from thence his (that is, the Prophet's) words, may Allah bless him and greet: "O God! Take pity upon my successors." And it was asked: "Who are your successors, o Messenger of Allah?" He answered, "Those who follow me, who tell my *hadith*s, and explain them to new people." Or, as he said, may Allah bless him and greet him, and he also called in his *hadith*s to bless the *muhaddith*es, named them his successors (*khulafa'*), his amirs and deputies (*nuwwab*) in communicating the knowledge of the Shar'iah and saving her from deviation, change, and replacement, and showed them greater respect than caliphs, amirs, and governors.[14]

In his words we see an uncompromising emphasis on the *hadith*s as the basis for regulating all aspects of the life of the community. Exactly this

12 That is the Prophet.

13 Sa'id ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahid ibn 'Ali al-'Asali al-Tarablusi al-Shami al-Dimashqi, *Al-Jumal al-mufida fi sharh al-Jawhara al-farida* [A Useful Statement in the Commentary to "The Only Treasure"] (manuscript), p. 13. This manuscript was translated by Asal Abbasova and published in B. M. Babadzhanov, A. K. Muminov, and A. fon Kiugel'gen [von Kügelgen], eds., *Disputy musul'manskikh religioznykh avtoritetov v Tsentral'noi Azii v XX veke: kriticheskie izdaniia i issledovaniia istochnikov* (Almaty, 2007), pp. 72-95 (citation from pp. 81–82).

14 al-Shami al-Dimashqi, *Al-Jumal al-mufida*, p. 14.

position lifted Shami-Damulla into the ranks of leaders of the so-called "Ahl al-Hadith" (local: Ahl-i Hadith).

Ahl al-Hadith

The authority of Shami-Damulla in Tashkent, a city that had traditionally been of secondary importance as a religious center, but that was soon to play the role of the religious capital of all of Central Asia, was exceptionally high. Shami-Damulla's influence on future events was based on the fact that he created a strong following. Among his followers were Jamal-Khwaja Ishan (killed in 1937), Sayyid Abu Nasr Mubashshir al-Tarazi (1896–1977), Mulla Yunus Hakimjanov (1893–1974), 'Abd al-Qadir Muradov (1893–1976), Ziyautdin Babakhanov (1908–1982; deputy *mufti*, and then *mufti* [1957–1982] of the Spiritual Directorate of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan [SADUM]),[15] Ibrahim-Qari (Shaykhim-Qari) Ishaqov, Shah-Ikram Shah-Islamov, Mulla 'Abd al-Samad (killed in 1937 at the age of 26), Zayn al-Din-Qari (died in 1983), and others.

There were many members of the intelligentsia, wealthy individuals of Tashkent, and workers from the Afghan consulate in Tashkent among the admirers of Shami-Damulla. Among his disciples, al-Tarazi and Z. Babakhanov were politically active. After the government turned against him in 1925, the circle of young local ulama, the merchant class, and the simple believers among the citizenry stayed with him. They were the first generations of the "Ahl al-Hadith."

The Ahl al-Hadith community continued Shami-Damulla's activities after he was arrested and sent from Tashkent into exile in 1932. They espoused their fundamentalist ideas, ignoring the existence of the *madhhab*s. This community later indirectly influenced the development of the strategy of SADUM (through Z. Babakhanov and Shah-Ikram Shah-Islamov),[16] especially in the following manner: 1) the struggle

15 On him, see B. Babadzhanov, "Babakhanovy," in S. M. Prozorov, ed., *Islam na territorii byvshei Rossiiskoi imperii: Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, vyp. 4 (Moscow, 2003), pp. 12–14; B. Babadzhanov and M. Olkott [Olcott], "SADUM," ibid., pp. 69–72.

16 This fact, by the way, is not noted by many Western researchers who deal with the

against local traditions and rituals, which were declared "non-Islamic";[17] 2) the propagation of the ideas of Ahl al-Hadith with new publications of the Qur'an (in both original and translation) and collections of the *hadith*s, celebration of the anniversaries of such traditionalists as Imam Al-Bukhari, the organization of public talks, and the like; and 3) the weakening of the traditionally strong position of the Hanafi *madhhab*, in particular, through the re-orientation of specialists studying in the system of confessional schools that had in effect been redesigned along Ahl al-Hadith lines.

A group of Ahl al-Hadith, more than 3,000 members, exists in the city of Tashkent in the present day as well. The traditional form of their meetings is the *gap*—an all-male meeting. The place of a member who has taken seriously ill or had passed away is taken by his son. After the arrest of Jamal-Khwaja Ishan, the leadership of the group passed to Mulla Nafiq, Mulla Ghaybullah, and Muhammad-Amin-Damulla. Now the group is lead by Mash-Tabib ('Abd al-Jabbar 'Azimov).

In addition to Ahl al-Hadith, another group of similar beliefs, Ahl al-Qur'an, was also formed. Ahl al-Qur'an has another names as well, the "Uzun Saqallilar ("The Long Beards"), because its group members, following in the tradition of the Prophet, wear long beards. The founder of this group is considered to be Mulla Sabircha-Damulla, who came from the village of Qaunchi in Tashkent province. Sabircha-Damulla was educated by such leading lights as Hasan-Hazrat,[18] Mulla 'Abd

history of "Soviet Islam." See, for example, Yaacov Ro'i, *Islam in the Soviet Union: From the Second World War to Gorbachev* (London: C. Hurst, 2000).

17 See the special article: Bakhtiiar Babadzhanov, "O fetvakh SADUM protiv 'neislamskikh obychaev'," in A. Malashenko and M. Brill Olkott, eds., *Islam na postsovetskom prostranstve: vzgliad iznutri* (Moscow, 2001), pp. 170–184.

18 The Tatar theologican Hasan-Hazrat Ahmadiarovich Ponomarev al-Qiziljari (died in 1937 in the prison hospital in Tashkent) was born in Siberia (Kazakhstan) in the city of Petropavlovsk (Qïzïl-Jar) and was exiled to Tashkent in 1933. Hasan-Hazrat was a follower of Shihab al-Din Marjani (1818–1889) and, as his teacher, was against the scholarly legacy of the medieval Hanafi ulama of Central Asia. He allowed himself an insulting attack against Abu Hanifa (died in 767), stated that there was nothing said about Khwaja Baha' al-Din Naqshband (died in 1389) in the Qur'an or *hadith*s. He earned his reputation for his knowledge of the interpretation of the Qur'an. He became close with the members of the group of Ahl al-Hadith and became the companion of Jamal-Khwaja Ishan. Mulla 'Abd al-Samad had an especially close relationship with him (Oral account provided in 2003 by

al-Samad, and Wadud-Hazrat in Tashkent in the 1930s and 1940s. He had very close relations with Ziyautdin Babakhanov, for many years serving as muezzin in his mosque. Discord between them grew at the initiative of Sabircha-Damulla, when Z. Babakhanov took a post in the hierarchy created by the Soviets. Sabircha-Damulla left Ahl al-Hadith on the basis of his extreme ascetic views (his asceticism included a renunciation of the "Soviet way of life" and a non-recognition of religious officialdom). However, Z. Babakhanov supported Sabircha-Damulla's group until the end of his official activities.

The puritanical propensities of this group were such that they began to doubt the trustworthiness of the majority of *hadith*s. They began to consider the Qur'an the only trustworthy text. Because most of them did not know Arabic well, if at all, the Uzbek translation of the Qur'an became their main source of interpretation. Their sole reliance on the Qur'an, their Islamic practices, and the speculative conclusions that they drew without reference to other sources and texts shocked other Muslims with their unusualness, strangeness and, even, "wildness." Ahl al-Qur'an completely disregarded all teachings of the *madhhab*s, but their teachings found support among the citizens of Tashkent region active in agriculture.

Dissension among Central Asian Theologians

After the liquidation of confessional education in the 1920s, a network of illegal religious education, the *hujra*,[19] was founded and was especially widespread in the Ferghana valley. This network retained the traditions of the old confessional schools. The form and content of education in the

'Abd al-Malik Ishmuhamedov [1912–2003], Tashkent).

19 The dictionary definition of *hujra* is "cell" or "classroom." This network was the continuation of the traditional forms of religious education (maktab, madrassa, qari-khana). It began to form during Tsarist times, accompanied by a policy of ignoring local educational institutions and takes its beginnings from private schools for religious teaching. In the Soviet period, it could only survive on the territory of the former Turkestan Governor-Generalship, and especially in the Ferghana valley, due to its ability to accommodate Russian forms of government and control.

hujra system remained traditional and had a conservative character.[20] They trained experts in religion (ulama) of a relatively high level in comparison with the official educational institutions of SADUM (1943–1992). In fact, the normal education of the ulama took place in the *hujra* network and was legalized through the awarding of a diploma by official schools.

During his life, Shami-Damulla was greeted in an unfriendly, even hostile, manner in both the Ferghana valley and on the territory of the Bukhara Khanate. His travels to Kokand (twice), Andijan, and Samarkand were unsuccessful. Later, through the activities of SADUM and his followers, the ideas of Shami-Damulla entered the Ferghana valley and began to have an influence on the thoughts of at least a part of the clergy there. One of Shami-Damulla's followers, Shah-Rahim-Qari Shah-Kamalov (died in 1963 at the age of 68) eventually returned to Kokand. Although his activities were not outstanding, he raised a few followers in his turn. In Kokand, there was also another clergyman who was close to the schools of Ahl al-Hadith and Ahl al-Qur'an, Yunus-Qari. At the same time, the working of SADUM for many years and its openly traditionalist and fundamentalist methods of thinking had a certain influence on the re-Islamization of a new generation of the population and clergy in a later Soviet period.

In time, a group of young ulama began to form from the *hujra* network that aimed to a greater independence from the network's conservatives and for greater self-expression. These talented and active young theologians would become the leaders of separate religious groups that would eventually grow into an entire movement.

These young clergy needed to criticize the conformist position of the conservatives as they developed their own positions. As in a chain reaction, this critique began to use the already worked out theological clichés and relious-ideological positions of the fundamentalist ideas of Ahl al-Hadith and Ahl al-Qur'an. The new fundamentalist movements in the "Ferghana soil" were dubbed "Wahhabist."[21]

20 B. M. Babadzhanov, A. K. Muminov, and M. B. Olkott, "Mukhammadzhan Khindustani (1892–1989) i religioznaia sreda ego epokhi (predvaritel'nye razmyshleniia o formirovanii 'sovetskogo islama' v Srednei Azii," *Vostok* 5 (2004), pp. 43–59.

21 In the Ferghana valley, all of those who studied or study the *hadith* are called

Fundamentalist ideas proved very useful for expressing the discontentment of a group of theologians against the official clergy as well as for revealing the social protest of broad layers of wider society. With the entrance of one of the leading Hanafi conservatives, Mulla Hindustani (1892–1989) into this argument against his young opponents headed by Rahmatullah 'Allama ibn Rasuljan (died in 1981), the positions of each side became more sharply divided and the discussions of both sides took on an increasingly intolerant character.[22] From then on, the disagreements of the different sides in the Ferghana valley have been more harsh than amongst the Tashkent groups. Contradictions between "local" and "Arabic," "religious" and "secular," "old" and "new," and "conformist" and "oppositional" reached their apogee.

The development of events along these lines resulted in the creation of fertile ground for the propagation of the ideas of Islamic parties from different parts of the Muslim world, especially from Arabic countries. The classical period of the modern history of Islam in Central Asia (in the so-called post-Soviet region) closes with the beginning of the penetration of elements of the teachings of political Islam.

The further logical development of fundamentalist tendencies can be seen in the teachings of the Akramiya, who appeared in the Ferghana valley in 1998 (see table 9.1). They began to claim that the modern, "unfavorable" period for Muslims corresponds to the Mecca period of the history of Islam (610–622). Therefore, only those regulations laid down in the *aya*s of the Qur'an from the pre-Medina period—that is, from the so-called Mecca *aya*s—are relevant to the lives of modern believers.[23]

Thus, the actions of the Soviet state regarding the "religious question" had a certain influence on the appearance and development of Islamic fundamentalism on the territory of Central Asia. Serious factors that allowed for fundamentalism's strengthening included the weakening of

"Wahhabists" (Oral account provided in 2003 by Hakimjan-Qari Vasiev, born in 1895, in the city of Margelan).

22 Bakhtiyar Babadjanov and Muzaffar Kamilov, "Muhammadjan Hindustani (1892–1989) and the Beginning of the 'Great Schism' among the Muslims of Uzbekistan," in Stéphane A. Dudoignon and KOMATSU Hisao, eds., *Islam in Politics in Russia and Central Asia (Early Eighteenth to Late Twentieth Centuries)* (London: Kegan Paul, 2001), pp. 195–219.

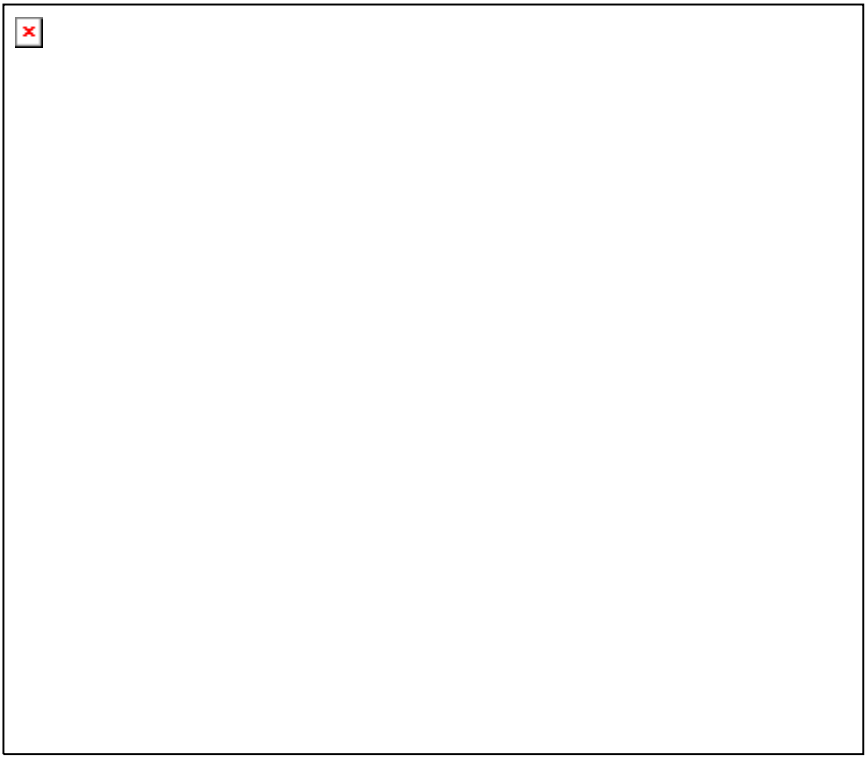
23 *Islom: Entsiklopediya* (Tashkent, 2004), pp. 22–23.

the position of "local Islam" and the growth in the influence of "foreign Islam."

(Translated from Russian by Kevin Krogmann
and edited by Uyama Tomohiko)

Table 9.1. **The Development of Islamic Fundamentalism**

Shami-Damulla (1867–1932)	Ahl al-Hadith (1920s to the present)	Ahl al-Qur'an (1930s to the present)	Akramiya (1998 to the present)
Ijtihad			
Hadiths	Hadiths		
Qur'an	Qur'an	Qur'an	The Mecca *aya*s of the Qur'an



10

George SANIKIDZE

Islamic Resurgence in the Modern Caucasian Region: "Global" and "Local" Islam in the Pankisi Gorge

In recent years, the Pankisi Gorge, a small mountainous region of Georgia, has been under constant attention from the international community. Such an interest has been conditioned by a number of factors, including instability in the North Caucasus and war in Chechnya (resulting in a flow of refugees from Chechnya who have settled in the Pankisi villages), propagation of radical form of Islam by emissaries from Middle Eastern countries, the Gorge's inclusion in the global network of Islamic terrorism, the problem of drugs trafficking, and other problems. The Pankisi Gorge has a reputation of lawlessness and has long been a source of tension in Georgian-Russian relations. At the same time, the United States actively supports Georgian government in their efforts to resolve the problem of the Gorge.

My principal goal is to show the role and the place of religion in the Gorge and discuss the following questions: why and how has the situation changed in the Gorge since "the religious revivalism" in the post-Soviet space first emerged after the collapse of the former USSR and the wars in Chechnya. I will show that unlike Chechnya and Dagestan, until recently, Islam was never a "factor of unification and consolidation" in the Pankisi community. The present situation in the North Caucasus, where the imported, "pure Islam" or so-called "Wahhabism" con-

fronts with traditional Islam of the highlanders, to a certain degree resembles the period of Shamil's imamate in the nineteenth century when he tried to unify North Caucasian peoples on the basis of Islam (or rather a local version of it, even though purified from pagan beliefs and based on Shari'a). It is clear that an absolutely new reality, one that has no connection with the past and is not only a reflection of events taking place in the North Caucasus, but also that of global developments, is presently developing in the Gorge. To understand this reality, it is useful to compare "global" and "local" forms of Islam in the Gorge and outline possible causes of opposition between these two.

About eight miles long and two and a half miles wide, the Pankisi Gorge is located just south of the Georgian-Chechen border in the Georgian district of Akhmeta. Georgia's Kists (local name of descendants of Chechens and Ingush in Georgia), who constitute a part of the Vainakh people, live mostly in and around the Pankisi Gorge in Georgia's northeast. According to official data, there are 12,000 Kists residing in Georgia presently, although non-official figures put the number at no more than 8,000. Of these, some 6,000 live in Pankisi. Unemployment and difficult economic conditions induced many younger Kists to immigrate to Russia during the 1970s and 1980s, but in the past decade, the number of residents in the region has at least doubled due to an influx of refugees from Chechnya.

According to statistical figures from 1989 (the most recent official census of population in Georgia), the Kists represented 43 percent of total population in the Pankisi Gorge; Georgians accounted for 29 percent and Ossetians, 28 percent. However, the ethno-demographical situation has changed significantly since the early 1990s. As a result of the Georgian-Ossetian conflict, sections of the Ossetian population immigrated to the North Ossetian Autonomous Republic of the Russian Federation. Moreover, after the influx of refugees from Chechnya, who now have settled in the Pankisi villages, the Vainakhs became the largest ethnic group in the Gorge.

Currently there are six villages in Pankisi populated by Kists: Duisi, Dzibakhevi, Jokolo, Shua Khalatsani, Omalo, and Birkiani (the last one was formerly populated by Christian Georgians known as Tush). The first village established was Duisi, which was originally named Pankisi

(Pengiz in the Vainakh language), from which the region took its name. As is the case with Chechens and Ingush to the north, clans (*teip*s) are an important line of cleavage and identity. Nevertheless, the Pankisi Kists are currently divided loosely into two communities, corresponding to their belonging to one of the two Sufi brotherhoods. Both communities are present in each village and are headed by separate elders. There is no tension present between these two communities, but this is not true of their relations with adherents of so-called "Wahhabism," whose number has increased considerably in recent years.[1]

The History of the Kists and Their Religious Beliefs

To understand the current situation, it is necessary to begin with the consideration of the causes of emigration of the Kists from Chechnya, the history of Kist population of the Gorge[2], as well as the peculiarities of their religious beliefs.

The Kists of Georgia are descendants of Chechens and Ingush (who call themselves collectively "Vainakhs") who migrated to the region from the north beginning in the 1830s. One reason for the migration was economic hardship; another was a desire to escape the consequences of blood feuds. A third—the tradition of *bayatalvaakkhar* was another cause.[3] In addition, the leader of the highlanders in the North Caucasus

1 More details concerning the "Wahhabism" will come later in the essay.

2 About the history of the Kist population in the Pankisi Gorge see Kh. Khangoshvili, *K'istebi* [The Kists] (Tbilisi, 2005); Shorena Kurtsikidze and Vakhtang Chikovani, *Georgia's Pankisi Gorge: An Ethnographic Survey* (Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, Working Paper Series, 2002); L. Margoshvili, "K'istebis gadmosakhlebis sakit'khisat'vis Sak'art'velos teritoriaze" [About the Question of the Emigration of Kists on the Territory of Georgia], in *K'art'ul-ch'rdilokavkasiuri urt'iert'obebi* [Georgian-North Caucasian Relations] (Tbilisi, 1981); G. Sanikidze, *Islami da muslimebi t'anamedrove Sak'art'veloshi* [Islam and Muslims in Georgia Today] (Tbilisi, 1999); Nikolaus von Twickel, "Die Kisten georgische Patrioten," *Mitteilungsblatt der Berliner Georgischen Gesellschaft, e. V*. 56 (1997); S. K. Chkhenkeli, "K voprosu o pereselenii chechentsev v Pankisskoe ushchel'e," in *Materialy po istorii Gruzii i Kavkaza*, 3rd ed. (Tbilisi, 1973); L. Sharashidze, "Kisty: antropologicheskie zapiski," in *Trudy Instituta eksperimental'noi morfologii* (Tbilisi, 1962).

3 *Baytalvaakkhar* is the Vainakh custom according to which all members of a tribe shared pastures equally. If any member of the tribe exceeded a certain level of wealth, i.e., owned

War, Imam Shamil, strictly enforced Islamic observance in areas under his control, which some Chechens and Ingush[4] found oppressive and as a result fled south. Finally, some arrived from the neighboring Georgian district of Tianeti,[5] where they settled in the early nineteenth century. The repeated emigration of Vainakhs was conditioned by the decision of the central administration of the Russian Empire to settle all Vainakhs together in Georgia. Village settlement took place quickly and continued until the end of 1860. Other families moved into the area in the following years, although not in large enough numbers to justify new settlements.

After arriving in Georgia, most Kists adapted and quickly began acculturating, as suggested by the fact that many added Georgian endings to their family names (e.g., "shvili," which means "son of" or "daughter of" in Georgian). Examples of Kist family names include Qavtarashvili (of Qavtar), Musashvili (of Musa), and Bakhashvili (of Bakha).[6]

Most of the original migrants were pagan, although there were also elements of Christianity in their practices. Since the early Middle Ages, Georgian Christian missionaries had disseminated both Christianity and Georgian culture among the Vainakhs, and Christian faith was the most important factor explaining the close ties between Vainakhs and Georgians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[7] Beginning with Cath-

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more than a certain number of cattle or sheep, or other livestock, the elders of the village would gather and make a decision to confiscate the excess property from the owner and distribute it among the other members of the society. See Kurtsikidze and Chikovani, *Georgia's Pankisi Gorge*, p. 7; L. Margoshvili, *Pankiseli k'istebis ch'veulebebi, tradits'iebi da qoveldghiuri ts'khovreba* [Customs, Traditions and Contemporary Life of the Kists of Pankisi], (Tbilisi, 1985), pp. 30–31.

4 It must be said that even during Shamil's repression, "in Ingushetia... the population was nominally Muslim with continued strong attachement to polytheist practices." Firouzeh Mostahari, "Colonial Dilemmas: Russian Policies in the Muslim Caucasus," in Robert P. Geraci and Michael Khodarkovsky, eds., *Of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversion, and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), p. 249.

5 Margoshvili, "K'istebis gadmosakhlebis sakit'khisat'vis," p. 121.

6 Ibid., p. 61.

7 Kurtsikidze and Chikovani, *Georgia's Pankisi Gorge*, p. 26. About the propagation of Christianity among Vainakhs during the Middle Ages see M. A. L. Comneno, "Le Caucase et l'Islam (VIIIe–XVIIIe siècle)," *Caucasia: The Journal of Caucasian Studies* (Tbilisi) 1 (1998), pp. 109–116; L. Margoshvili, *Kul'turnye i etnicheskie vzaimootnosheniia mezhdu Gruziei i Checheno-Ingushetiei* (Tbilisi, 1990); A. R. Shiksaidov, *Islam v srednevekovom Dagestane* (Ma-

erine the Great, Russian imperial authorities also began actively promoting the Christianization of the highlanders in the North Caucasus, using both financial incentives and political privileges to encourage conversion.[8] Once in Georgia, the Kists were again pressured by state authorities to embrace Christianity—indeed in some cases to the point of coerced conversion.[9]

The propagation of Orthodox Christianity and Georgian culture among the Kists is associated with the activities of the Society for the Restoration of Orthodox Christianity in the Caucasus in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[10] By the initiative and the support of the Society, a St. George church was constructed in Jokolo and several elementary schools in the Kist villages opened. Georgian was the language of religious service and instruction in the schools. In 1866, by the decision of religious authorities in Georgia, a mass baptism of pagan and Muslim Kists took place. All of these factors resulted in most of the villagers in Jokolo and Omalo being Christianized by 1866. According to data from the Society for the Restoration of Orthodox Christianity in the Caucasus, between 1864 and 1910 there were numerous baptisms of Kists.[11] As a result, Islamic faith was less prevalent in Pankisi than among Chechens and Ingush in the North Caucasus.

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khachkala, 1969); S. Umarov, "Nekotorye osobennosti etnizatsii raznykh khristianskikh kul'tov v Chechne i Ingushetii," in *Arkheologiia i voprosy etnicheskoi istorii Severnogo Kavkaza* (Grozny, 1979), pp. 125–131.

8 P. Butkov, *Materialy po novoi istorii Kavkaza*, vol. 1 (Tbilisi, 1869), pp. 267–273

9 The Cristianization of Caucasian highlanders was often superficial. One report delivered to General Ivan Paskevich, administrator in chief of the Caucasus (1827–1831), openly admitted that there were no differences between the baptized and nonbaptized highlanders. Baptized highlanders continued to abide by their polytheistic customs and were Christian in little more than name. See V. N. Ivanenko, *Grazhdanskoe upravlenie Zakavkaz'em ot prisoedineniia Gruzii do namestnichestva velikogo kniazia Mikhaila Nikolaevicha* (Tiflis, 1901), pp. 196–198.

10 See *Obzor deiatel'nosti obshchestva vosstanovleniia pravoslavnogo khristianstva na Kavkaze, 1860–1910* (Tiflis, 1910); see also: Manana Gnolidze-Swanson, "Activity of the Russian Orthodox Church among the Muslim Natives of Caucasus in Imperial Russia," *Caucasus and Central Asian Newsletter* (University of California, Berkeley) 4 (2003); Austin Jersild, *Orientalism and Empire: North Caucasus Mountain Peoples and the Georgian Frontier, 1845–1917* (Montreal: MacGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).

11 *Obzor deiatel'nosti obshchestva*, p. 85.

Nevertheless, in 1902 local Muslims began construction of a mosque in the village of Duisi, using their own money to finance the project. The Russian imperial government refused, however, to register the mosque because they were concerned about the political implications if recently converted Christian Kists began reconverting to Islam. The village of Duisi, both historically and presently, was considered an Islamic center of the Kists. According to M. Albutashvili, Orthodox priest of Kistin origin,[12] the founders of Duisi were Muslim fanatics.[13] At the same time, he wrote, despite their Muslim faith, many Kists observed Christian rites, which was the religion of their ancestors.[14]

It must also be noted that there were no traces of Muridism[15] among the Kists,[16] which means that in difference of Chechnya and Dagestan, the Kists had nothing to do with Shamil's Caucasian Islamic Umma and the process of the introduction of "pure Islam" (or "common Islam")

12 Mate Albutashvili was himself a Kist from Pankisi. After graduating from the Tbilisi Theological (Orthodox Christian) seminary in 1893, Albutashvili worked as a priest in the St. George Church of the village of Joqolo in Pankisi. Until 1921, he was also director of the nearby elementary religious school established by the Society for the Restoration of Orthodox Christianity in the Caucasus in 1866. Albutashvili knew the life of the Pankisi Kists extremely well. He was passionate about his work and made great efforts to raise their level of education. Like Georgian publicists of the latter half of the nineteenth century who gathered around newspapers such as *Iberia* and *Droeba*, Albutashvili became interested in collecting folklore and ethnographic materials. He published several dozen letters in *Iberia* between 1901 and 1904, and in 1898, wrote *A Description of the Pankisi Gorge*, a detailed historical and ethnographic survey of the region. About activities of M. Albutashvili see Kurtsikidze and Chikovani, *Georgia's Pankisi Gorge*, p. 13; G. and N. Javakhishvili, "Shesavali [Introduction]," in M. Albutashvili, *Pankisis kheoba* [The Gorge of Pankisi, Historical-ethnographical and Geographical Description], ed. with introduction and commentaries by G. and N. Javakhishvili (Tbilisi, 2005).

13 Albutashvili, *Pankisis kheoba,* p. 118.

14 Ibid., p. 159.

15 A variety of Sufism, which spread in North Azerbaijan and from there to the North Caucasus, Muridism is based on the asceticism and the spirit of self-sacrifice. Strictly hierarchical relations between Master (*murshid*) and disciple (*murid*) have particular importance. The militarized form of muridism was ideological and organizational base of the Imamat of Shamil (1841–1859) in the North Caucasus. About Muridism in the North Caucasus see, for example: Z. D. Muradiev, *Severokavkazskii miuridism: istoki i sovremennost'* (Leningrad, 1989); N. I. Pokrovskii, *Kavkazskie voiny i imamat Shamilia* (Moscow, 2000); N. A. Smirnov, *Miuridism na Kavkaze* (Moscow, 1963).

16 Albutashvili, *Pankisis kheoba*, p.160.

into the North Caucasian region.

After the October Revolution, the mosque of Duisi was closed, and it would not be reopened until 1960. Still, the position of Islam strengthened among the Kists in the Soviet period, in part because "wandering" mullahs continued to proselytize and managed to persuade many to convert to Islam, a process that continued into the 1970s.

In sum, over the years considerable numbers of Kists became Christian, but most of those who did later reconverted to Islam. Even so, until around 1970, a considerable part of the villagers of Jokolo, Omalo, and Birkiani were Christian, and a Christian chapel was built in Omalo in the 1960s.[17] In the 1970s, however, many Christians in Jokolo and Omalo returned to the Islam faith. As noted earlier, only Birkiani has a majority Christian population today. There is also a small community of Kists in Kakheti (a region of Georgia bordering on the Gorge), mainly in the city of Telavi, who consider themselves Georgians and Orthodox Christians.[18]

After settling in the Pankisi deserted villages, the Kists, unlike other peoples of the Caucasus (among them, the Azeris or Ossetians), preserved local toponyms. However, they pronounced those toponyms with the Vainakh phonetic peculiarities (for example Omalo is pronounced as Uamal, Dzibakhevi becomes Dzibakhie, and Khadori is Khoodur). In very rare exceptions did the Kists invent their own toponyms, which happened only in the cases that they established new, by then uninhabited places (as in the case of Duisi, which was named after its founder, Dui).[19]

There was a kind of bicultural consciousness among the Kists: on the one hand, they had always belonged to a common Vainakh culture (by organization of society, system of beliefs, rites, and common homeland); on the other, the influence of the Georgian culture (language, elements of Orthodox Christianity, and rites) had always been apparent among the Kist communities.

Like Chechens and Ingush, the religious practices of Kists are eclectic. As one authority has observed: "The Ingush were Christians in the past. After the weakening of Christianity in the region, they revived their pa-

17 L. Margoshvili, *Pankisel k'istt'a tses-ch'veulebebi da t'anamedroveoba* [Customs of the Pankisi Kists and Modernity] (Tbilisi, 1985), p. 45.

18 See Twickel, "Die Kisten."

19 See Margoshvili, *Pankisel k'istt'a tses-ch'veulebebi*, pp. 93–95.

gan religion and later adopted Islam, then once again Christianity, and at the end, Islam again, while at the same time preserving pagan and Christian traditions—they eat pork, celebrate holy Sundays, respect Christian churches."[20] Another author concluded: "As we have seen, many Chechens were Christians (*kheristanash*) before embracing Islam in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and they incorporated not only pagan but also Christian traditions into their Islamic practices."[21]There was no tension between Georgians, Osetians and Kists over religion. In Pankisi, religious differences never prevented these communities from maintaining common sacred places and following common rites and traditions.[22] Even today old Muslim Kists visit Christian holy places. "These places protect our country; how we can ignore them? . . . We sacrifice animals and switch candles for them" said a Kistian elderly.

As with most Georgians, Christian and Muslim alike, religion has as much a national meaning for many Kists as it does spiritual. Those who are Christian tend to identify themselves as Georgians (although they maintain their consciousness as Kists); those who are Muslim hold to a Vainakh identity, even in places where Georgian is their home language and the language of instruction in local secondary schools. Muslims also tend to maintain closer contacts with their relatives in Chechnya and Ingushetia than do Christians.

Sufi Orders in the Pankisi Gorge

Among Kists, as with Chechens and Ingush, the Naqshbandiya and Qadiriya Sufi[23] brotherhoods (*tariqat*s)[24] are well established. The

20 S. Bronevskii, *Noveishie geograficheskie i istoricheskie svedeniia o Kavkaze*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1843), p. 43.

21 U. Laudaev, "Chechenskoe plemia," in *Sbornik svedenii o kavkazskikh gortsakh* (Tiflis, 1872), p. 27.

22 About interethnic relations in the Pankisi Gorge see V. Shubitidze, "Usap'rt'khoeba da etnikuri kulturis adaptats'iis dzala akhal sots'ialur-kulturul garemoshi" [Security and Force of Adaptation of the Ethnic Culture in a New Social-Cultural Environment], in L. Melikishvili, ed., *Pankisis kheoba* [The Pankisi Gorge] (Tbilisi, 2002), p. 92.

23 Sufism, a corpus of techniques concerning the "journeying" of a mystic adept toward God, appeared in the first centuries of Islam. In the beginning, it was a purely individual

Naqshbandiya *tariqat,* which originated in Bukhara under the inspiration of Sheikh Baha' al-Din Naqshband (d. 1389), became widespread in the North Caucasus during the nineteenth century North Caucasus War.[25] In an unusual historical reverse, the Sufi orders in the Caucasus, far from waning, practically absorbed official Islam. Nearly all the "Arabists" [who knew Arabic language—G.S.] and *ulama* of Dagestan and Chechnya were members of a *tariqat,* and they identified themselves with the national resistance against Russian pressure.[26]

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experience based on the personal relationship between the disciple, or *murid,* and his master, variously called *sheikh, murshid, pir, ustad,* or *ishan.* The master alone was responsible for the progress of the student along the path, or *tariqat,* to God. For centuries, Sufis assumed the role of defenders of the faith, and Sufism swelled into a popular mass movement of organized brotherhoods of adepts, who were grouped around a master and bound by compulsory rules that regimented every aspect of their life. In the North Caucasus and in those areas where Russian conquest was met by massive popular resistance, Sufi brotherhoods played the primary role in inspiring, organizing and leading the resistance. Sufi activities in these areas were similar to that elsewhere in the world at around the same time: in North Africa against the French, in Java against the Dutch, in Punjab against the Sikhs and the British, and in Xinjiang against the Chinese. "Partly as a result of its role in popular resistance, Sufism in these regions never acquired the same élitist character as it did elsewhere. Rather, it preserved and extended its popular roots." Alexandre Bennigsen and S. Enders Wimbush, *Mystics and Commisars: Sufism in the Soviet Union* (London: Hurst, 1985), p. 4.

24 About Sufi brotherhoods in the North Caucausus see V. Akaev, *Sheikh Kunta-Hadzhi: zhizn' i doktrina* (Grozny, 1994); Alexandre Bennigsen, "The Qādirīyah (Kunta Ḥājjī) *Ṭarīqah* in the North-East Caucasus: 1850–1987," *Islamic Culture* 62, no. 2–3 (1988), pp. 63–78; Bennigsen and Wimbush, *Mystics and Commissars*; Paul B. Henze, "Fire and Sword in the Caucasus: The 19th Century Resistance of the North Caucasian Mountaineers," *Central Asian Survey* 2, no. 1 (1983), pp. 5–44; Paul B. Henze, *Islam in the North Caucasus: The Example of Chechnya* (Santa Monica: RAND, 1995); Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Sufi Brotherhoods in the USSR: A Historical Survey," *Central Asian Survey* 2, no. 4 (1983); Anna Zelkina, *In Quest for God and Freedom: The Sufi Response to the Russian Advance in the North Caucasus* (London: Hurst, 2000).

25 The Naqshbandiya is considered the most important of all Sufi brotherhoods. Naqshbandi groups exist all over the Muslim world, from Morocco to Indonesia and from China to East Africa.

26 Bennigsen and Wimbush, *Mystics and Commissars,* p. 21. It must be added that "between 1877 and the 1917 Revolution, almost all of the adult population of Checheno-Ingushetia belonged either to the Naqshbandiya or to the Qadiriya *tariqat*." A. A. Salamov, "Pravda o sviatykh mestakh v Checheno-Ingushetii," *Trudy Checheno-Ingushskogo nauchno-issledovatel'skogo instituta pri Sovete Ministrov Checheno-Ingushskoi ASSR* 9 (1964), p. 162.

The Naqshbandiya did not arrive in Pankisi until 1909, however, when Isa Efendi, a preacher from Azerbaijan, came to the region. Isa Efendi was an adept (*pir*) of the Naqshbandiya order, and he managed to convince many locals to join the *tariqat*. His tomb is located in the Azeri village of Kabal in eastern Georgia. Despite the fact that he was an Azeri, and that it is in an Azeri-majority region, Isa Efendi's tomb is considered a particularly holy shrine by the Kists. It must be added that most of Naqshbandis live in Duisi.

The introduction of Qadiriya[27] teachings in Pankisi came considerably earlier through the efforts of a shepherd, Kunta Hajji, who came from the village of Iliskhan in the Gudermes district of Chechnya. In certain regions of Pankisi, Qadiriya doctrine had taken Kunta Hajji's name. Shamil, however, opposed Kunta Hajji's religious practices and forbade Qadiriya ritual dances like the *zikr (*or *dzikar),*[28] which led Kunta Hajji to leave the North Caucasus. In 1927, another Sufi adept, Machig Mamaligashvili, who had spent several years in Ingushetia, helped spread the Qadiriya teachings of Kunta Hajji in the Pankisi region. The Duisi village mosque is currently controlled by followers of Kunta Hajji and the Qadiriya *tariqat*. Members of the Naqshbandiya *tariqat* in the village gather every Friday (women during the first half of the day, men in the evenings) in a room where Isa Efendi lived until 1920.

During the Soviet period, in Pankisi, as in the other Muslim regions of the Soviet Union, the role of so-called "parallel" Islam increased consid-

27 The Qadiriya was founded in Baghdad by 'Abd al-Qadir al-Ghilani (circa 1166) and is by prestige and influence the second most important of the Sufi orders.

28 The *zikr* ceremony consists of the regular recitation of litanies founded on the Qur'an, fixed phrases repeated in the mind or aloud in ritual order accompanied by a complicated technique of posture, breathing control, and in some cases rhythmical movements. The silent (or "inner" or "mental" *zikr),* is directed and controlled by a sheikh. It is traditionally practiced by the Naqshbandis. Soviet authors sometimes use the terms "Sheptuny" (whisperers)—meaning Naqshbandis, who practice a silent *zikr*—and "Priguny" (jumpers)—referring to the Qadiris, whose *zikr* involves considerable physical movement. Also "for Vainakhs of the North Caucasus the term dziarat means reverence of a sacred place, and dzikar—execution of religious ritual. Among the Pankisi Kists the term dzikar means singing, and dziarat—execution of religious ritual." See L. Margoshvili, "Religiuri gadmonasht'ebi pankisel k'istebshi [Religious Vestiges among Pankisi Kists]," *Matsne, Istoriis, ark'eologiis, et'nograpiisa da khelovnebis istoriis seria* [Bulletin of History, Archaeology, Ethnology and Art History] 2 (1978), p. 214.

erably. The terms "parallel" or "out of mosque" Islam ("fundamentalist" and "integrist" were never used) encompassed a large spectrum of trends, currents, and movements represented by various conservative believers, who were united only by their desire to preserve the religious basis of their society and to maintain some elements of their specific Muslim way of life.

Parallel Islam embraced purely religious, educational and social activities. Its "independent unregistered clerics"—a Soviet euphemism for Sufi adepts—performed basic religious rites (marriage, burial, circumcision), conducted prayers at the homes of believers, and presided at various festivals and occasions (anniversaries, house-raisings, school graduations, and so forth). They maintained clandestine and illegal houses of prayer where believers met on Fridays and during the major Islamic festivals. Under Soviet law, these activities were reserved for the state-sponsored "official" clerics and mosques; therefore, those engaged in the practice of parallel Islam were always at risk. However, the activities of such "unregistered clerics" or "wandering mullahs" played an important role for the propagation and strengthening of the position of Islam in the Gorge. As a result, as noted earlier, the conversion to Islam among the Pankisi's Kists took place even in the 1970s.

It is important to emphasize that the religious practices of the Kists are still enriched by pagan beliefs, and that Naqshbandiya and Qadiriya practices in Pankisi are therefore quite different from those of the Naqshbandiya and Qadiriya elsewhere. In addition, *sharia* (Islamic law) in the region is intermixed with highlander customary law (*adat*), and the latter tends to prevail over the former.[29] As a result, the practices and beliefs of Kists who belong to the two *tariqat*s do not differ significantly.[30] Members of both, for example, arrange rosaries in shape of the number 99, a symbol of the divine names of Allah (the hundredth name of Allah is not known to anyone). Moreover, while most Kists consider themselves Muslim, at least until recently many were largely indifferent

29 The importance of *adat* is suggested by the fact that there are cases where Kists who had served their prison sentences returned to their homes only to be put on trial again and punished in accordance with *adat.*

30 On the contrary, in the North Caucasus, Naqshbandis and Qadiris have strictly different profiles.

to certain Islamic teachings. Most would eat pork, drink alcohol, sacrifice animals near the ruins of Christian churches, give their children Christian names, as well as marry Christians.

"Wahhabis" and "Traditionalists" in the Pankisi Gorge

The religious fervor of the Kists appears to have grown considerably in recent years. In addition, there is evidence that Wahhabis are active in the region, although most do not appear to be Kists. Indeed, there are tensions between Wahhabis and those believers who adhere to traditional highlander forms of Islamic worship. Wahhabis call themselves the followers of pure Islam and oppose all practices not sanctioned by the Qur'an. They look at Sufi Islam as a deviation from the original Islamic rules. Wahhabis consider many of these traditional practices anathema, while for many locals, it is the Wahhabis themselves who are renegades betraying the faith of their Kist ancestors. It is not surprising, therefore, that there was considerable local opposition to the effort of Wahhabis to establish a *sharia* court in Duisi—for most locals, the court was an unwelcome and alien innovation.[31]

It must be noted that the term "Wahhabism" in the post-Soviet territories, including Georgia, is used in a large sense for designation of different kinds of politicized Islam and extremist Islamic movements. Many researchers distinguish different streams in the Islamic movements and choose for them names that are more concrete: salafites,[32] adherents of a "pure" Islam, jihadists or simply terrorists. In recent years Wahhabism has become a common term by which most of the contemporary Islamic movements whose principal goal is the restoration of "the Ideal Society of the Primitive Islam," or *status quo ante*, is designated.

Wahhabism is occasionally the own name of religious groups (especially of Chechnya and Dagestan), but more often this name is given to

31 Kurtsikidze and Chikovani, *Georgia's Pankisi Gorge*, p. 26.

32 Many scholars prefer to use the term *al-Salafiya* for the designation of so-called "Wahhabi groups." At the same time, "citizens of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia called themselves not Wahhabis, but *Salafiyuns*." O. P. Bibikova, "Vakhkhabism v SNG," in G. V. Mironova, ed., *Islam i politika* (Moscow, 2001), p. 91.

different religious groups by their political opponents (in the post-Soviet territories, for example, the case of Central Asia).[33]

Officially, the history of Wahhabism in the post-Soviet era begins in 1989, when "pure Islam" was first preached in Dagestan.[34] The Wahhabis' influence became stronger in Chechnya after the Russian military campaigns in the republic. Many years of war impoverished and destabilized Chechen society, and the Wahhabis used this situation to their advantage.

In the Pankisi Gorge Wahhabis first appeared in the spring of 1997. It was at that time that a cross was taken away from the Church of Duisi.[35] Many newly converted Chechen Wahhabis arrived in Pankisi Gorge with the status of refugees and attempted to convert young Kists by preaching about "pure Islam." In pursuance of this goal, numerous citizens of Arab countries and Turkey, financed by various Islamic organizations, settled in the Kist villages and began their activities.

The attitude towards Wahhabis among the Vainakhs is controversial. Most Chechen refugees and some Kists (especially younger ones) support them. Wahhabis control humanitarian aid distributions of the "Jamaat" society, which, according to the local Kists, are funded by Arab countries. One of their followers (a Chechen refugee) even said: "It would be better if Red Cross, the United Nations and other humanitarian organizations gave the Wahhabis a right to distribute their aid supplies. We are sure that they would distribute it fairly."[36]

33 See G. V. Miloslavskii, "Vakhkhabism v ideologii i politike musul'manskikh stran (k evolutsii vozrozhdencheskogo techeniia v islame)," in Mironova, *Islam i politika*, pp. 70–85. Some scholars find parallels between Naqshbandyia and Wahhabi ideology. The rigorous doctrine and the rejection of various Sufi practices is common for them. As a Russian Orientalist G. V. Miloslavskii noted: "For example, Official clerics in the Central Asian countries often accuse Naqshbandis of being Wahhabis. Mullahs of "parallel Islam," including so called Wahhabi groups, are sheikhs or murids of this [Naqshbandi] tariqat." Miloslavskii, "Vakhkhabism v ideologii," p. 76.

34 Amri Shikhsaidov, "Islam v Dagestane," *Tsentral'naia Azia i Kavkaz* 4 (1999).

35 G. Chikovani, "Dasakhlebis struk'turuli ts'vlilebebi, konp'lik'turi situats'iebi da mat'i regulats'iis tradits'iuli mek'anizmebi" [Structural Changes of Settlement, Conflict Situation and Traditional Mechanisms of their Regulation], in Melikishvili, *Pankisis kheoba*, p. 123.

36 L. Khutsishvili, "Religiuri reorientats'iis problemebi polietnikur sazogadoebashi" [Problems of the Religious Re-orientation in the Polyethnic Community], in Melikishvili,

Nevertheless, most Kists (especially the elders) are against Wahhabis. For example, according to the one of them:

> We have the religion of our ancestors; Wahhabis say that we are blind and they are only people who follow the true Islamic tradition. They are like Jehovah witnesses among you [Georgians—G.S.]. Chechens are also against them, but during the war, while they all were in difficult situation, Wahhabis gave them some money. Khattab[37] was their chief. They corrupted our youngsters. If one prays by their faith, they give one dollars. We believe that praying for money is unacceptable. Many young people who went from Duisi to Arab states were sent by Wahhabis. They want to convert young people who can use guns. They wear different clothes than we do. They have no respect for elders and are disloyal to our traditions.[38]

Another Kist elderly adds: "Our faith is Islam that we got from our ancestors. Khattab imported his faith during the first Chechen war. There is an Arab who has bought a house in Duisi. He converted around twenty youngsters. They don't respect our traditions. They allow marriage between relatives (which is prohibited by *adat*). We are against them and we are even ready to shed some blood."[39]

Wahhabis deny the role of the teacher, which for the Sufi is very important. They also deny the cult of the saints and pilgrimages to the saint shrines that are widespread among the followers of Sufi Islam. Among Kists and in general in the North Caucasus, the ritual of condolences is widespread. "When someone dies, there is a [particular] condolence ritual followed by the relatives [of the deceased] and by the entire village. But the Wahhabis think it is enough to bury a deceased person. They [think] it is useless to follow the [condolence] ritual. The inner link with God, typical for the Sufi followers, is denied by the Wahhabis."[40]

Pankisis kheoba, p. 167.

37 Amir Ibn al-Khattab, citizen of Jordan (according to some sources—of Saudi Arabia), perhaps of Circassian origin, was one of the most prominent figure of the Chechen resistance. He was considered a leader of "Wahhabis." Khattab was killed by Russian federal military forces in 2002.

38 From conversations of author with local population during his visit in the Pankisi Gorge in June, 2005.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

Many Kist parents try to subdue their youngsters and force them to cut their beards (having a beard is considered a sign of Wahhabi). Many claim that Wahhabis pay young people $100–150 every month to secure their support. The elders say: "This is no religion, because they pay money to buy souls."[41] Among the members of "Jamaat," there are also some Chechens. Most of the members are young. Wahhabis attempt to convert Georgians as well (by paying $100 to men and $50 to women for entering and praying in the mosque).[42]

Meetings against the Wahhabis were organized by local Kists, in which representatives from regional administration participated (for example in 2001 in Duisi), but none stemmed the tide of young Kisks turning to the Wahhabi.

There are five mosques in the Gorge, all but one which have been built in recent years. The mullah of the new mosque in Duisi is an Arab. Perhaps the most notable structure in Duisi is a new-looking, rather tall red brick mosque. Author's attempt to take a snapshot of the mosque in June 2005 sparked a prolonged debate among locals over whether photography of the structure should be permitted.

Opened in 2000, the gleaming mosque at Duisi appears to have stolen the thunder of the old mosque. Situated on Pankisi's main road, it has been called a "Wahhabi" mosque. It was built by the Chechens, but financed by a sheikh from Saudi Arabia, who learnt of the existence of the Muslim minority in Pankisi as the result of a Kist's pilgrimage to Mecca. In addition to this mosque, "Jamaat" attempted to buy a land plot in the center of Duisi in order to construct another mosque. However, local administration, under pressure from the townspeople, denied permission.

In the sole religious school that remains open, Arabic lessons continue under the watchful eye of four local teachers who learnt Arabic in Saudi Arabia. Since 2003, however, pupils have become rare. Currently, there are just twenty pupils.

Despite the differences in religion, there were not any political problems with the Kists until the beginning of the 1990s. However, since December 1994, when war broke out between Chechen resistance fighters

41 L. Khutsishvili, "Religiuri reorientats'iis," p. 167.

42 Ibid.

and the Russian central government, Pankisi has witnessed an influx of refugees from Chechnya. Among them were many families of the Pankisi Kists, who after the disintegration of the Soviet Union left for Chechnya. The tide of refugees picked up considerably after the collapse of the 1995 Russian-Chechen cease-fire agreement and the new round of violence that broke out in late 1999. Between September and December 1999, refugees began pouring into Chechnya's southern highland areas from northern parts of the republic, particularly Grozny, Urus-Martan, Achkhoi-Martan, Sernovodsk, and Samashki. When Russian military aircraft began bombing the villages of the Itum-Kale region, where the refugees were hoping to find shelter, the Chechen refugees started moving south once again, this time along the Argun Canyon where they used snow-covered cattle tracks to cross the Russian-Georgian border. They headed for the village of Shatili in Georgia's Khevsureti province, and from there proceeded to the Pankisi Gorge. There, local Kists ended up sheltering some 85 percent of the refugees.[43]

The inflow of refugees in 1999 and 2000 aggravated an already difficult economic and social environment in the Pankisi region. In particular, crime worsened: drug trafficking, arms smuggling, and kidnappings became commonplace. Over the recent years, however, a considerable part of the refugees has left the Gorge. Today, only 2600 people have the official status as refugees in Pankisi villages. Georgian internal military forces had neither the equipment nor the training to restore central authority in the region. During the late 1990s and the early 2000s, Chechens were using the Georgian area of the Pankisi valley as a fall back base for their war inside Chechnya. Training recruits and medical aid were all possible because the Georgian government was not able to control the area.

As a result, Pankisi has become a source of acute tension between Russia and Georgia over the past several years. The Russian military wanted to enter Georgian territory to destroy the resistance fighters and their training camps, a move that would have been viewed in Tbilisi as a clear violation of Georgian sovereignty. The US government wished to

43 Doctors Without Borders / Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), "Interviews with Chechen Refugees in Georgia," December 1999 [http://www.amina.com/article/int_wrefug.html (valid as of January 29, 2007)].

see the Pankisi crisis resolved peacefully, and as a result Washington financed a "Train and Equip Program" for Georgian counter-terrorism forces. These counter-terrorism forces eventually carried out what appears to have been a largely successful operation to restore order in the region. Many kidnapped individuals were freed, a number of criminals were arrested, and the region is apparently no longer being used by Chechen rebels or *jihadists*.[44]

The most important problem for the international community is the rumors about the presence of al-Qaida's members in the Gorge. Western nations are becoming increasingly concerned that the al-Qaida terrorist organization has established a base of operations in Georgia. Although the number of terrorists hiding among the several hundred Chechen fighters in Pankisi is estimated to be fairly small, these terrorists are part of a broader network aiming to create Islamic states across the Caucasus and Central Asia.

According to the Russian specialist of Caucasian Islam, Aleksei Malashenko, "Islamic radicals constitute a minority in the Dagestani and Chechen populations, but they form a rather consolidated and organized force and, what is more, receive support from abroad, mainly from several international Muslim organizations, as well as from the Caucasian diaspora living in the Middle East that sympathizes with their struggle."[45] The situation that existed in the Pankisi Gorge years ago reflected this statement. In November 2002, Philip Remler, the former US Charge d'Affaires in Tbilisi, told a Georgian weekly, *Akhali Versia*, that the United States had obtained information that a few dozen al-Qaida fighters after fleeing Afghanistan had found refuge in the Pankisi Gorge.[46] After a counter-terrorist operation, Georgia extradited fifteen Islamist fighters to the United States, who were then conveyed to Guantanamo.[47] Nevertheless, the problem remains and as confirmation of such, one may quote statements of US officials concerning the hypothetical presence of al-Qaida members in the Gorge even in 2005.

44 George Sanikidze and Edward W. Walker, *Islam and Islamic Practices in Georgia* (Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, Working Paper Series, 2004), p. 30.

45 A. Malashenko, *Islamskie orientiry Severnogo Kavkaza* (Moscow, 2001), p. 166.

46 *Akhali Versia*, December 1, 2002.

47 *Washington Post*, January 2, 2002.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the situation in this small region of Georgia reflects developments occurring not only in the post-Soviet space, but also in the world as a whole. Today, as one of the results of the globalization process, the efforts of different Islamic movements (both radical and more moderate) to create, by using different means, a new Islamic unity based on their own interpretation of religion, conflicts with local, traditional forms of Islam, which as these Islamic movements see it, does not correspond to the spirit of "pure Islam." Global radical Islam has become one of the main sources of instability in today's globalized world. This concerns Pankisi Gorge as well, as it also can be considered a party to a global political game.

11

Dosym Satpaev

An Analysis of the Internal Structure of Kazakhstan's Political Elite and an Assessment of Political Risk Levels

Without understating the distinct peculiarities of Kazakhstan's political development, it must be noted that the republic's political system is not unique. From the view of a typology of political regimes, Kazakhstan possesses authoritarian elements that have the same pluses and minuses as dozens of other, similar political systems throughout the world.

Objectivity, it must be noted that such regimes exist in the majority of post-Soviet states, although there has lately been an attempt by some ideologues to introduce terminological substitutes for authoritarianism, such as with the term "managed democracy."

The main characteristic of most authoritarian systems is the combination of limited pluralism and possibilities for political participation with the existence of a more or less free economic space and successful market reforms. This is what has been happening in Kazakhstan, but it remains

Editor's note: The chapter was written in 2005, and the information contained here has not necessarily been updated. Personnel changes in 2006 and early 2007 include the following: Timur Kulibaev became vice president of Samruk, the new holding company that manages the state shares of KazMunayGas and other top companies; Kairat Satybaldy is now the leader of the Muslim movement "Aq Orda"; Nurtai Abykaev was appointed ambassador to Russia; Bulat Utemuratov became presidential property manager; and Marat Tazhin was appointed minister of foreign affairs.

important to determine which of the three types of authoritarian political systems—mobilized, conservative, or modernizing (that is, capable of political reform)—exists in Kazakhstan. Correctly judging the qualitative characteristics of the country's political elite and the political system's future level of legitimacy depend upon this determination.

Before answering this question, it is necessary to review the evolution of Kazakhstan's political system from 1991 through 2005. This time span can be divided into a number of stages. The following categorization is wholly the author's and pays special attention to an analysis of the development of the presidency as the institute that has played the most important, system-forming role.

Stages in the Development of Kazakhstan's Political System 1991–2005

Over the last fourteen years, Kazakhstan's political system passed through the following stages in its development:

1991–1995: The Immediate Post-Soviet Period
Main Characteristics

- "Pro-Western," democratic romanticism;
- Retention of certain elements of the Soviet command-based administrative system;
- Exceptional political activity among the general population;
- The beginning of the gradual strengthening of presidential power along with the parallel curtailment of the influence of legislative organs of state;
- Search of an optimal model of socio-economic and political development.

1995–1999: Definitive Personification of State Power
Main Characteristics

- Constitutional enshrinement of the presidency's expanded powers;
- The final formation of a mechanism for preservation of the balance of

power between influential pressure groups;
- Popularization of the theory of Kazakhstan's "special path";
- Choice of an "Asian model" of political and socio-economic development following a thesis of "first the economy and then politics";
- The beginning of contentious confrontation between the government and the opposition.

1999–2001: Temporary Stabilization
Main Characteristics

- Quick tempo of economic reforms with the retention of the conservative political system;
- Expansion of presidential powers as an indicator of the established authoritarian system;
- Stability inside the political elite.

2001–2004: Growing Inter-elite Conflicts
Main Characteristics

- Disparity between the open economic system and the closed political system;
- Shifts in the balance of power among the domestic political elite, leading to schisms within the elite;
- Formation of the early beginnings of an electoral politics, when a number of previously grey cardinals emerging as public figures on the political scene;
- Unification and activation of the Kazakh opposition and its increased clashing with the government.

2004–2005: Reaction to the Changing of the Elite in Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan—Mobilization and Preparation for the Presidential Elections
Main characteristics

- Legal changes directed at strengthening state control over Kazakhstan's informational and political space;
- Confrontation with the "third sector." Toughening of state control of

local and international NGOs;
- Confrontation between the opposition and the government grows more ferocious;
- Transformation of the party system, with the creation of new multi-party coalitions, both in the pro-presidential and opposition camps, and the dissolution and disappearance of a number of political parties.

In addition to Kazakhstan's heavy handed, administrative political system, the country suffers from a significant level of political unpredictability similar to other Central Asian states due to the existence of five key problems:

- Lack of constructive relations between the government and the opposition;
- Lack of a mechanism for the smooth transfer of power. The entire political system is fixed on one person and small, separate groupings;
- Domination of secretive and non-transparent political dealings over public policy making gives birth to the dominance of narrow interest groups over issues of state;
- Lack of a long-term strategy for political reform and the persistence of a habit of reacting to immediate political challenges (terrorism, the opposition, etc.);
- The government's lack of a full, stable legitimacy.

The Main Factors Affecting the Level of Political Stability in Kazakhstan

The peculiarities of Kazakhstan's "political stability" are founded on a number of factors, the first of which is a presumed stability in the relations among the political elite. These factors are conventionally divided into internal and external factors, with the former being of greater significance than the latter.

Internal Factors

Political

Preservation of the Balance of Power between Influential Pressure Groups

The balance of power between different elite pressure groups is one of the most consequential factors in analyzing Kazakhstan's political situation, which is strongly affected by:

a. The distribution of power between competing political figures;
b. The ability of the president to keep the situation under control, not giving one or the other of the competing groups such power that they are able to expand their political and economic interests.

Economic

Internal and External Economic Factors

Internal

1. Stability of the extraction and export of mineral resources;
2. Measures taken to limit the role of the shadow economy;
3. The diversification of the economy;
4. Anti-corruption measures.

External

1. The global economy's quick pace of development;
2. Favorable environment and prices on global markets for energy resources.

External Geopolitical Factors

1. Political stability of neighboring states;
2. Regional stability in Central Asia.

The political risk dynamic in all Central Asian states are usually determined by three types of risks: domestic risks (which are sufficiently var-

ied, but which include a number of consistently present risks), regional risks (interstate relations between the Central Asian states, influence of "third" states on regional politics, and the existence of conflict zones in the region), and global risks (the negative consequences of globalization).

Of all of the Central Asian states, only Kazakhstan currently has a risk level below medium, a level that is acceptable to investors and large geopolitical players, but which does not guarantee political predictability.

One thing that unites all Central Asian states is the predominant role played by two risk assessment variables—the lack of a clear-cut mechanism for the succession of presidential power and peaceful, institutionalized means for the transition between political elites.

A peculiarity of Kazakhstan's political elite is that it was never an internally consistent monolith, but consisted of different groups, subgroups, and key personalities, whose level of influence directly depended on their degree of proximity to the main center of political decision making—the country's president.

At the same time, the government was, until lately, sufficiently monolithic in its relationship with society and, foremostly, with the opposition. The situation changed cardinally at the end of 2001 when conflicts arose among different groupings in the elite that lead to serious changes in the configuration of relations, not only between different elite groupings, but throughout Kazakhstan's political space.

Stages in the Development of Kazakhstan's Political Elite

The formation of Kazakhstan's political elite taken place in a number of stages:

1991–1994

Soviet, party-executive nomenclature and related pressure groups dominate. State property is redistributed. High levels of corruption permeate all levels of government.

1994–2001

Representatives of the business elite enter the halls of power and the

first signs of friction and confrontation between the old nomenclature and the new political elite appear. The president builds a new system for balancing power between the various pressure groups, while strengthening his own power.

2001–2003

The balance between elite groupings begins to be violated, leading to splits within the political elite. The reasons for the disruption of the old balance are two-fold. First, the excessive growth in the influence of certain members of the president's family caused dissatisfaction among parts of the political and business elite. Second, there is a growing disparity between the fast pace of economic development and the closed nature of the political system.

***The Result*:** Possibilities for the business elite to participate in the legitimate struggle for power are limited.

2003–2005

The president restores the balance of power within the political elite. Kazakhstan faces presidential elections. Counter-elite activists play a significant role within the framework of the oppositional Democratic Coalition "For a Just Kazakhstan."

General Characteristics of Kazakhstan's Modern Political Elite

- The elite is closed in nature and removed (economically, politically, informationally, and mentally) from the general population;
- The elite functions within the framework of a rigid hierarchy where concepts of professionalism are often disregarded in favor of concepts of personal loyalty and blood ties. This is also true, though to a lesser degree, for the business elite;
- The governing elite is not monolithic. On the contrary, it is caught in a state of continuous contradiction, as a result of which different blocks of convenience are formed around shared interests and the immediate

political conditions among the elite;
- The main struggle within the elite is not for the right to spread its ideals of state and social development, but for the right to extend its influence over the head of state and other elite groupings, and only through these levers of power to influence the state and social development;
- The president of the country is the only guarantor of any stability within the political elite.

The Main Pressure Groups within Kazakhstan's Ruling Elite

The current analysis of the main pressure groups active in Kazakhstan's political system is a relative analysis. It is the continuation of the author's previous scholarly studies, which focused on the issue of lobbying in Kazakhstan. The author's first attempt at classifying Kazakhstan's pressure groups was presented in the book *Lobbying: The Secret Levers of Power*, which was published in 1999.[1] This study used the systemic analysis of David Easton to analyze the activities of groups of the Kazakh elite.

Currently, all of the republic's main lobbying groups are represented by two blocks, which are organized into hierarchies stretching from leaders to low ranking members, while also featuring cooperation between leaders at various parallel levels throughout the two groupings. These two blocks consist of the president's "inner circle" and his "outer circle."

It should be noted that these two main groups do not exist independently and isolated from each other. They maintain a constant interactive process in many areas in a manner that features partnership as well as competition bordering on confrontation.

1 Dosym Satpaev, *Lobbizm: Tainye rychagi vlasti* (Almaty, 1999).

The Inner Circle

The President's family is the most natural, important, and influential political formation in his close circle. The family cannot be represented as an absolute homogenous group, without any internal conflicts working toward a shared goal. Nonetheless, the family is tied together by tight blood relations, which justifies referring to it as a single formation. After certain family members made obvious pretensions to political power, the president made his family play a lower profile role, and the family has stopped playing the role it did earlier when many issues could be decided with the help of or mediation from a family member.

This grouping can be divided into two main subgroupings:

The Grouping of Rakhat Aliev and Dariga Nazarbaeva

Rakhat Aliev is the son-in-law of Kazakhstan's president, Nursultan Nazarbaev. He is married to the president's oldest daughter, Dariga Nazarbaeva and occupies the post of deputy minister at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The grouping began to form in 1994 and 1995, and its power is concentrated in the state services, especially the power ministries and the media.

The advantage of this grouping is that they have been able to retain control over all of the resources necessary to produce the targeted pressure needed to realize their economic, political, and ideological interests, despite frequent clashes with other groupings. The protection of the President, as well as the determination and professionalism of the grouping's representatives, has played a large role in this.

The Grouping of Timur Kulibaev

Timur Kulibaev is the president's second son-in-law. He is married to the president's middle daughter, Dinara Nazarbaeva. For a long time, Timur Kulibaev occupied the position of Vice President in the national oil and gas company, KazMunayGas, which he recently left. His departure coincided with the completion of the sale of his stakes in Nelson Resources to the Russian oil company LUKoil as well as the sale of his stakes in PetroKazakhstan to the Chinese oil company CNPC. According to some estimates, Timur Kulibaev may have made around $430 million from the sale of his stock to LUKoil, while he may have gotten $630

million for his shares in PetroKazakhstan. As a result, he may have realized a personal profit of around $1 billion.

His grouping formed in 1999 and 2000 as a result of a merger with the Kazkommertsbank financial-industrial holding. Conditions surrounding recent political and economic developments in Kazakhstan—increased pressure from the Aliev group and loss of access to the head of state—forced Kazkommertsbank to enter into an alliance with Kulibaev's grouping, thereby gaining access to the family, as they shared interests with him and he was able to maintain the group's status in the face of possible pressure from the Aliev group.

The Kulibaev grouping's main strength is focused in strategic spheres of Kazakhstan's economy—industry, oil, banking, and communications—as well as in certain media outlets.

The main advantages of this superpowerful, oligarphic-monopolistic grouping consist of its colossal economic and managerial resources as well as its access to the head of state. The grouping's weaknesses include insufficient political and ideological resources as well as its underrepresentation in the government's administrative organs.

A grouping that formed around the president's nephew, Kairat Satybaldy, also deserves separate mention. The grouping coalesced in 2000 and 2001. Kairat Satybaldy, who served for a long time on Kazakhstan's National Security Committee, now occupies the position of Vice President in the national railroad provider, Kazakhstan Temir Zholy. This grouping also has some power over the activities of the state-owned KazMunayGas. In general, this grouping has not yet accumulated serious influence within the republic, being still in the process of formation.

The President's Companions

This grouping does not represent a single, unitary formation, but rather includes a number of individuals with access to the head of state. Presently, this set of groupings is mainly located within the presidential administration, representing a kind of headquarters where all of the main decisions affecting the life of the country are worked out.

Grouping 1. The Grouping of Nurtai Abykaev

This person has been close to the president for twenty years already. He is now the chairman of the Senate (upper chamber) of the Parliament of Kazakhstan. Through the power of its leader and other representatives of the group, the grouping develops basic governmental policies that affect all areas of societal life and accompanies these policies with total support, from conception through to realization, including the choice and placement of responsible personnel and the general management of state property. As far as informational support is concerned, the group controls practically all state-run media.

Grouping 2. The Grouping of Bulat Utemuratov

Bulat Utemuratov is the secretary of Kazakhstan's Council of National Security and has also belonged to the President's inner circle for quite some time. According to some information, the grouping controls, fully or partially, the firms Kazzinc, Kazfosfat, Mercur, Almaty Commercial-Financial Bank, Channel 31, the newspaper *Megapolis,* and internet news site *Navigator*.

Grouping 3. The Grouping of Marat Tazhin

This grouping is one of the most influential in the president's inner circle. Marat Tazhin occupies the post of deputy director of the presidential administration. As opposed to other groupings, this grouping does not openly display its ambitions and provides the quintessential example of the classic nomenclature pressure group. The grouping enjoys a special trust with the president and has tremendous influence on the development of the conceptual bases that guarantee the republic's political stability and national security. The grouping carries out the correction of domestic and foreign policy as well as ideological and propaganda support for the state's policies.

Grouping 4. Grouping of Imangali Tasmagambetov

This grouping is quite varied in as much as its members include representatives from business as well as the nomenclature. The leader of the group is the mayor of Almaty, Imangali Tasmagambetov. The grouping

is distinguished by the level of neutrality that it maintains in various inter-elite conflicts. The group is held together primarily by ties to representatives from the old Komsomol nomenclature and officials working with Tasmagambetov at his previous positions. The grouping has a certain influence over operational management in areas affecting all parts of societal life, including the management of state property. This grouping has influence over an array of Kazakh language publications, such as *Ana Tílí* and *Qazaq Ädebietí.*

Protégés

Those who are considered to have been personally appointed by the president belong to this grouping. It must be divided into two levels—an upper level consisting of technocrats and other professionals, and a lower level consisting of high ranking officials and government administrators.

The technocrats and professionals are united by the similarity of its members. They represent a type of person whose careers depends upon their personal and professional qualities. They definitely appreciate the possibilities and privileges that the current political regime has granted them and consider themselves tied to the regime by a certain agreement, but still feel themselves to be sufficiently free.

It should be noted that they have a certain economic and financial base, but do not have sufficient resources to play an independent political role—and they apparently do not have any great desire to participate in such games in any case.

A grouping of **high-level officials and administrators** consist of almost all of the oblast *akim*s (governors) as well as certain members of the government, especially the power ministries' leaders and female ministers. This group of individuals is united a certain understanding of political reality as it has formed, a lack of a specifically stated political position, and a readiness to work in any necessary policy area demanded by upper management. Nonetheless, they possess good organizational skills, being the government's "work horses."

The Distant Circle

National-Level Business Elite

According to expert assessment, Kazakhstan's financial and banking elite formed at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s thanks in large part to economic liberalization, economic relations created by the transition from a planned to a market economy, and the legalization of the of the institution of private property. Gradually, capital began to accumulate due to a number of factors, including the practically free central credit that the National Bank gave out in early years of independence. As it strengthened, banking capital began to actively penetrate and participate in the leading sectors of the real economy, including energy resources, metallurgical, oil and gas, transport, communications and similar sectors, in addition to fulfilling their banking functions. As a result of this process, both financial and economic spheres are controlled today by a small number of financial-industrial groups. The most significant financial-industrialists, with their large financial resources, began in 1994 to convert their financial power into political power. Of course, they wanted to actively participate in the process of reaching important government decisions or, at the least, exercise some influence over them.

With this aim in mind, financial-industrial groups sponsor and advance the careers of their people during parliamentary elections as well as sponsoring careers in key positions in the government administration and seeking for new potential partners and allies in the government. A number of these industrialists actively participate in socio-political activities through the creation of political parties and social movements that express their interests. Finally, big business groups control sufficiently famous and popular printed and electronic media, with the help of which they also pursue their interests in politics and economics.

It must be noted that these groups' level of influence in the economic and political life of the republic periodically changes. This mainly happens when key figures from one or another grouping are promoted to or removed from a position in the governmental administration or nationally important companies. As a result of the president's decisions to make frequent shifts in government cadres, this or that group can gain or

lose control over certain state structures, companies, firms, and even whole sectors of the economy.

Regional Elites

Given that Kazakhstan is a centralized state, it is perhaps not surprising that a strong regional elite has not yet formed. The following represent a few of the factors inhibiting the formation of a regional elite in Kazakhstan:

- Lack of a mechanism for electing regional leaders, who are currently appointed by the president;
- The regions' financial dependence on the center;
- The president's lack of interest in the appearance of strong regional leaders.

At the same time, the leaders of all Kazakhstan's regions are animals of the existing system of intergroup relations within the elite. This is facilitated by the president's practice of frequently shuffling key personnel, horizontally as well as vertically, along the axis of government power. As a result, regional officials are systematically shifted along the routes from the center to the regions as well as within the government.

The Level of Potential Conflict within Kazakhstan's Political Elite

Currently, Kazakhstan's political elite retains its potential for generating conflict that are able to cause new clashes between different elite groups, increasing the level of political risk in Kazakhstan.

The following are some of the potential reasons that new conflicts might arise:

Objective Reasons:

- Lack of a sustainable balance between elite groups;
- Curtailment of possibilities for this or that grouping to realize its economic ambitions;

- The uncoordinated personnel policies of the state and leading businesses;
- The objective maturing of the elite, which requires increasing freedom for action.

Subjective Reasons:

- Persistent rumors about the imminent, unexpected transfer of presidential power and constant discussion of the list of potential candidates for succession;
- The continuous psychological tensions within the political elite resulting from overly frequent changes of personnel;
- Fatigue of having only one group at the top of political power.

Possible Scenarios for the Development of Kazakhstan's Political System

Two Questions

Which of the three types of authoritarian political systems exists in Kazakhstan?

- Mobilized
- Conservative
- Modernizing (with the ability reform itself politically)

What will the extreme concentration of government power in the president lead to—to authoritarianism for the sake of authoritarianism's sake or to authoritarianism for the sake of modernization?

The Optimal Variant for Development

- Political modernization;
- Appearance of new channels for recruiting a political elite;
- Increased quantity and quality access to political decision making

processes;
- Adoption of a clear-cut difference between business and politics;
- Introduction of a mechanism for electing local leaders;
- Growth in the middle class;
- More active integration of Kazakhstan into the global economic and political space, which automatically increases the demands made of governmental management;
- Formation of electoral forms for supporting various government institutions;
- Creation of an effective mechanism for transferring power;
- Diversification of the economy (low prices on raw material commodities plus good management, or good prices on raw materials and good management).

***Result*:** A lowering of the level of political and investment risks in Kazakhstan and a soft transition from conditions of a "stable instability" to a state of "stable development."

The Negative Variant of Development

- Retention of a closed political system;
- Oligarchic forms of corporate governance;
- The dominating role of the political elite over business. New conflicts arise between the business elite and nomenclature pressure groups;
- Limited numbers of access points to political decision making processes;
- Limited channels for recruiting new members of the political elite;
- Preservation of the economy's orientation on raw materials (low prices for raw materials plus bad management, or good prices for raw materials and bad management).

***Result*:** A high level of political and investment risk remains in the country, resulting in political and economic crises. Forced changes in the political elite lead to unexpected consequences.

Three Models for the Changing of the Elite

- Russian (successor)
- Azerbaijani (dynastic forms for the transfer of power)
- Ukrainian, Georgian, Kyrgyz (victory of the counter elite)

The Russian model for the transfer of power is probably the most acceptable model in Kazakhstan, allowing political stability in the country to be retained. In addition to searching for an optimal model to transfer power, Kazakhstan's political elite must answer an additional question. They must think about beginning to realize political reforms. In this regard, there are four problems that need to be solved:

1. The strategic initiative for conducting reforms is in the hands of the president. In such conditions, much depends upon who is closest to the president's "ear." Unfortunately, there are more "conservatives" and "hawks" near the presidential ear than there are liberals or supporters of "political dialogue." An important factor for the president is the preservation of his "political face," so that initiating political reforms does not seem like a concession to international or domestic pressure.
2. Different political powers within Kazakhstan must be allowed to participate and to contribute their ideas to the understanding of "political reform." There is currently no political consensus for these reforms and the existing political groups view differently the tempo with which such reforms should be pursued.
3. There does not currently exist an authoritative political power in Kazakhstan that could serve as a legitimate partner to the government in the development and realization of political reforms. Such a political power can only consist of a full-fledged democratic coalition, the creation of which is possible, but not likely in Kazakhstan's current political environment.
4. The super-personification of governmental power in Kazakhstan, as well as in the rest of Central Asia, poses a significant threat to their internal political conditions. The most negative variant for some countries in the region could be an intensification of the struggle of political, financial, and clan groupings over the post of the head of state to the point

of armed conflict, which would lead to unexpected consequences. All of this could negatively impact regional stability in general.

(Translated from Russian by Kevin Krogmann)

12

Alexander MARKAROV

Regime Formation and Development in Armenia

Founding Semipresidentialism: The Context and First Steps

Semipresidential regimes as a political phenomenon were quite a rare experience some fifteen—twenty years ago. Most scholars agreed that they existed in the Weimar Republic, Fifth French Republic, Finland, Sri Lanka, and Portugal; added to the list of Austria, Iceland, and Ireland.[1]

The article is part of the research conducted within the frames of the INTAS Young Scientist Post-Doctoral Fellowship awarded for the project entitled "Regime Formation and Transformation in the Post-Soviet Region: A Comparative Analysis of Semipresidentialism in Armenia, Russia, Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine," INTAS Ref. No. 05-109-4708.

Editor's note: The chapter was written in 2005, and the information contained here has not necessarily been updated. The Armenian Constitution was finally amended in November 2005.

1 For the account of semipresidential regimes see, for example: Robert Elgie, ed., *Semi-Presidentialism in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Maurice Duverger, "A New Political System Model: Semi-Presidential Government," *European Journal of Political Research* 8 (1980), pp. 165–187; Gianfranco Pasquino, "Semi-Presidentialism: A Political Model at Work," *European Journal of Political Research* 31 (1997) pp. 128–137; Steven D. Roper, "Are All Semipresidential Regimes the Same? A Comparison of Premier-Presidential Regimes," *Comparative Politics* 34, no. 3 (2002), pp. 253–272; Rafael Martinez, "Semi-Presidentialism: A Comparative Study" (Paper presented at ECPR Joint Sessions, Workshop 13 "Designing institutions," Mannheim, Germany, March 26–31, 1999).

From the late 1980s to the early 90s, when former socialist countries started the democratization process, the number of nations which adopted semipresidential features within their constitutions grew and at first glance included such countries as Armenia, Lithuania, Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Croatia, etc. Robert Elgie observed over forty semipresidential regimes all over the world, including those seventeen in the former-USSR and Central and Eastern Europe.[2]

In the course of the present study we will examine semipresidential regime formation and development in Armenia, which had evolved through various stages, presenting constitutional alternatives put forward within the discussion that occurred in Armenia from 1993 to 1995 and will conclude with the constitution amendment process that has been going on in the country since 1998.

The issue of adopting a certain regime type, defining the manner of political institutions to be created and defining the mode of executive–legislative relations was on the agenda and defined the political discourse of all the post-socialist nations, especially in the early 1990s. Within some of them discussion is not over yet, some amended their constitutions, adapting to new realities, and some like Armenia are still going through this process. While discussing the issue of regime type, three alternatives are focused on: presidential, parliamentary or a kind of semipresidential government.[3] Presidentialism supposes general election of the head of state for a fixed term in office. He or she is simultaneously chief executive, who appoints the government that is not subject

2 Robert Elgie, "The Politics of Semi-Presidentialism," in Elgie, *Semi-Presidentialism in Europe*, p. 14.

3 Detailed discussion could be found in Giovanni Sartori, *Comparative Constitutional Engineering: An Inquiry into Structures, Incentives and Outcomes* (New York: New York University Press, 1994); Juan Linz, "Presidential or Parliamentary Democracy: Does It Make a Difference?" in Juan J. Linz and Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*, vol. 1, *Comparative Perspectives* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994); Arend Lijphart, *Democracies: Patterns of Majoritarian and Consensus Government in Twenty-One Countries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984); Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Matthew Soberg Shugart and John M. Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

to the legislature's vote of (non)confidence as well as the president. Parliamentary government briefly could be presented as a "form of constitutional democracy in which executive authority emerges from, and is responsible to, legislative authority."[4] And the third option is a semi-presidential government which in Duverger's terms might be described as one, where constitution "combines three elements: (1) the president of the republic is elected by universal suffrage; (2) he possesses quite considerable powers; (3) he has opposite him, however, a prime minister and ministers who possess executive and governmental power and can stay in office only if the parliament does not show its opposition to them."[5]

Each regime type has certain advantages and disadvantages. It is usually said that presidentialism has such advantages as stability of the executive and more democratic government that coexists with such disadvantages as possible deadlock within the executive-legislative relations, time rigidity and a government that is formed by a "winner-takes-all" formula. On the contrary, regarding the parliamentary form of government it is usually mentioned that it has more flexible executive-legislative relations because of a possible vote of non-confidence to the executive that could be introduced by the legislature. In addition, the possibility of coalition formation, but simultaneously executive instability is usually given as the major disadvantage for parliamentary government. Semipresidentialism combines the advantages and disadvantages of those already mentioned but it is also claimed that this system "would develop a pattern of alternation between presidential and parliamentary phases,"[6] but it allows one of the major disadvantages of presidentialism—the possibility of deadlock in the executive–legislative relations to be overcome.[7]

4 Lijphart, *Democracies*, p. 68.

5 Maurice Duverger, "A New Political System Model: Semi-Presidential Government," *European Journal of Political Research* 8, no. 2 (1980), p. 166.

6 Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, p. 122.

7 More detailed discussion on the advantages and disadvantages could be found in Arend Lijphart, ed., *Parliamentary versus Presidential Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) (especially J. Linz's articles: "The Perils of Presidentialism," pp. 118–127, and "The Virtues of Parliamentary Democracy," pp. 212–216). See also Linz and Valenzuela, *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*, vol. 1.

Duverger's semipresidential concept definition was subject to various critiques,[8] within which we would like to put forward the following definition of semipresidentialism. It could be viewed as a form of republican government, where a fixed-term popularly elected head of state has authorities within the appointment of the government headed by the prime minister and possesses authorities (including veto powers) within the law-making process. The cabinet is also subject to the legislative (non)confidence vote, while legislature can be dissolved by the president. This definition allows the construction of two basic models for potential presidential–parliamentary relations development. Within the two basic models parliamentary support toward the president is the most important factor. Having the assembly's support the president is free to form a government supporting his politics and policies, and in Duverger's terms becomes "absolute monarch," while upon meeting parliamentary resistance he or she has to take into consideration the composition of the legislature, when appointing the government. Those basic models might be elaborated on further, supplemented by such additional variables as the nature of parliamentary majority (within a continuum ranging from single party majority to oversized coalition) and the nature of the party system, making the game of politics within the frames of semipresidential constitution more and more complex.

In Armenia the issue of adopting a new constitution was put forward months after the Declaration of the Independence of Armenia was adopted by the Supreme Soviet on August 23, 1990. On November 5, 1990 the parliament established a Constitutional Commission to draft the new constitution, comprised of twenty politicians, members of the parliament and professional lawyers. The Commission was headed by the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Levon Ter-Petrosyan. But before the first meeting of the Commission, held almost two years after its creation on October 15, 1992, the Armenian political system had already undergone considerable changes.

Based on the Declaration, which also declared separation of the executive, legislative and judicial branches, of June 25, 1991, the Supreme Soviet took a decision to establish Presidency in Armenia and to sched-

8 See Elgie, *Semi-Presidentialism in Europe*, pp. 4–12.

ule presidential elections for October 16 of 1991.[9] There was no doubt such an institution was necessary, but the controversy was related not so much to the need for the institution, but to the question of authorities of the President. Two main camps—one supporting a strong president and the other a weaker version of presidency as in a parliamentary regime had been formed in the summer of 1991. Supporters of the parliamentary regime were stressing that it was more democratic and allowed a means of avoiding power centralization within the hands of one person. In addition, they had been emphasizing that there was already an existing tradition of parliamentarism in Armenia, established in the First Armenian Republic of 1918–1920 and even in Soviet times. Another point was that parliamentarism with a PR electoral formula will positively influence the creation of political parties and their institutionalization in Armenia, while strong presidentialism will discourage that process. On the other hand supporters of a strong presidency brought their own arguments in favor of their position. They stressed that within non-professional parliament and weak political parties, the political system might end in anarchy where there is just one step toward dictatorship. They also stressed that the Soviet system was rather a fiction and real authority was concentrated within the hands of the party and its sole first secretary, so providing a base and tradition not for a collective decision-making body, but rather for one–person rule—in this new situation—the president. No less important was the contextual situation, within which debates regarding institutional changes were taking place—a situation involving political transition, economic transformation from planned economy towards the market and finally the issue of state and nation-building. In Armenia all that was overburdened by the external (Karabakh) conflict and economic blockade, so supporters of a strong presidency viewed it as a more effective way of dealing with the problems

9 On September 26, 1991 the Central Electoral Commission registered 6 candidates for the president's and vice president' offices: P. Hayrikyan and A. Arshakyan, R. Kazaryan and S. Zolyan, A. Navasardyan and G. Khachatryan, S. Sargsyan and V. Hovhannisyan, L. Ter-Petrosyan and G. Haroutyunyan, Z. Balayan and A. Marzpanyan. The results of the elections show the strong support for L. Ter-Petrosyan then. He got 83 percent of votes or 58 percent of votes of all the citizens. The next two candidates P. Hayrikyan and S. Sargsyan got 7.2 percent and 4.3 percent, respectively, and all other less than 1 percent.

compared with the non-professional, multiparty and multi-voice legislature, which was unable to make sharp decisions in the rapidly changing situation.

By the end of the year the Supreme Soviet adopted two laws—"On the President of the Republic of Armenia" (August 1, 1991) and "On the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Armenia" (November 19, 1991), which established the first steps toward the creation of a strong presidency in Armenia. Within the debates that took place in the parliament over the laws two major camps—one advocating the "governmental" draft, and another advocating the opponents' draft, were formed in the Supreme Soviet. The latter stated that the governmental draft is in sharp contradiction to the principle of the balance of powers and provides the president with dictatorial authorities. The contradictions between the two camps continued later, when the Supreme Soviet started to discuss the draft law on its own status. The main controversial issues addressed such problems as limitations of presidential authorities and the possibility of control over presidential actions as well as the issue of appointment of the officials. Primary distinctions were related to the authorities of parliament and mutual executive-legislative control. Opponents of a strong president also had been stressing the role of the parliament not just as legislative authority, but also as a political body with wide controlling authorities over other branches. The debate started in the early 90s and has continued throughout the entire history of the independent Armenia, establishing two camps: one usually those in power, advocating rather strong presidential powers; and another camp, those usually in opposition, with a focus on the primacy of the parliament.

After the introduction of the presidential institution in Armenia and adoption of the laws on Presidential power and Supreme Soviet the balance within the executive-legislative relations changed and moved towards the dominance of the president. Before the adoption of those laws, Armenia could be considered a parliamentary republic with the head of executive, Chair of the Council of Ministers and the government being appointed by the parliament and subject to its confidence. The Supreme Soviet could vote them out of office by two-thirds qualified majority of all the members of parliament. In general the parliament was the highest institution of state authority and it was the most powerful institution,

which was solely responsible for lawmaking, including the authority to amend the Constitution. It was responsible for filling principal political offices and had wide controlling powers.

That phenomenon of power transfer toward presidential institutions is not unique to Armenia—most of the post-soviet states adopted a system of government with strong presidency. Advocates explained the need for an effective executive, enabling competent and prompt decisions to be made within the situation of a permanent crisis in politics and economic transformation. Those who advocated strong presidency also usually were the politicians sure that they would be elected for the presidents office.

According to the legal norms set by the newly adopted laws, the president was appointed for five years by popular election as the head of the executive branch. He was responsible for appointing and dismissing the prime minister and by his suggestion members of the government. Both the chairman of the government and the members were also subject to parliamentary confidence. Significant changes took place within the decision-making process. If previously the parliament had been solely responsible for law-making, after the initiation of the presidential institution the president gained veto powers. The Supreme Soviet could vote for the bill by a simple majority of all deputies—131 votes, but some of the bills required a qualified majority of two thirds; such as constitutional amendments, the vote of non-confidence, recall of the chairman of parliament, first deputy chair, deputy chairman and the secretary of the parliament. The bills passed by the parliament had to be signed by the president within two weeks or returned to the legislature with suggestions and objections, requiring new debate and revoting. The Supreme Soviet could accept presidential suggestions by a simple majority of votes of the deputies with accepted authorities but with no less than one third of all the deputies or it could insist on its own version of the bill that required two thirds of the votes of the deputies with recognized authorities. In the latter case the president had to sign the bill within five days. If the president did not sign or did not return the bill within two weeks or did not sign it within five days after the second voting the bill had to be published with the signature of the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

Crafting the New Armenian Constitution

After basic norms regulating executive-legislative relations were established, the Constitutional Commission started to perform its duties more actively and from October 15, 1992 till May 11, 1995 held 109 meetings.[10] On June 24, 1993 the Constitutional Commission presented its first draft of the constitution for nation-wide discussion. The draft constitution comprised eight chapters: Chapter 1—General Statements; Chapter 2—Basic Rights and Duties of the Citizens; Chapter 3—National Council (Parliament); Chapter 4—President of the republic; Chapter 5—The Government; Chapter 6—The Judiciary; Chapter 7—Territorial Government and Local self-government; Chapter 8—Order of acceptance and amendments of the Constitution. The draft declared the Republic of Armenia a sovereign, democratic state with the rule of law. State authority was based on the principles of the separation of power between the executive, legislative and judicial branches. The legislative body—National Council—had to become a permanently acting representative body with 100 members elected for five years. The dissolution of parliament could be reached only by decision of the legislature or by presidential decree. The President was the highest official who had to secure the constitutional balance. The executive belonged to the government, headed by the prime minister, who was the subject of both parliamentary and presidential confidence. The proposed draft could be characterized as one that continued the existing logic within presidential/executive-legislative relations, proposing strong presidential authorities comparable with those of the President of France and even exceeding them, because the President of Armenia got the right both to appoint and dismiss the prime minister. Formally the draft could be assessed as a semipresidential constitution, but in the case the president had a parliamentary majority his powers were almost unlimited. In that case parliament would become a body just to ratify bills presented by the president and the government, who had bill initiation authorities.

In addition to the official draft some alternatives were developed by

10 Genrik Khachatrian, *Pervaia Konstitutsiia Respubliki Armeniia* (Yerevan: Nzhar, 2001), p. 21.

individuals or parties. The first alternative constitutional draft was elaborated by Henrikh Khachatryan and was submitted to the President's Administration in December of 1992. In 1992 the Ministry of Justice, the Parliamentary Standing Commission on Founding Independent Statehood and State Politics presented their constitutional draft as well, only to be criticized and not get any further development. Another draft was presented by the Christian-Democratic Union of Armenia. The draft declared the Republic of Armenia a federal state with a presidential government. But analyzing the draft one can come to the conclusion that the political practice under that constitution would be more semipresidential as the prime minister proposed by the president had to be confirmed in office by the parliament and he or she was the subject of both presidential and parliamentary confidence. Parliament also had to confirm appointments of ministers and the structure of government.

Two more alternative drafts were prepared by Dashnaktsutyun and Ramkavar-Azatakan Parties. They were presented in party media—correspondingly *Erkir* (June 3, 1993) and *Azg* (August 5, 1993) newspapers.[11] Presidential authorities still caused major controversies. Dashnaktsutyun draft opted for indirect elections of the President by the members of the parliament, government and the Constitutional Court. One was elected receiving two thirds of the votes. The executive authorities had to belong to the government, headed by the prime minister to be elected by the parliament. Functions of the president had to be shared with the parliament or the government. A more balanced proposal was elaborated by Ramkavars. Within their draft, the president, being the highest official, had to be elected by universal suffrage for a four-year period. He had the authority to present prime ministers' candidacy for parliamentary approval. He had also the authority to appoint ministers after being presented by the prime minister and receiving parliamentary approval. The president had the right to dissolve parliament but compared with the so-called "official draft," that right was reserved only within specific circumstances; for example, parliament could be dissolved if it had disapproved of the program of the government's activities three times. The prime minister could put forward parliament's dis-

11 In-depth analysis of those two drafts is presented in Armen Harutiunian, *Institut Prezidenta Respubliki Armeniia: Sravnitel'no-pravovoi analiz* (Yerevan: Mkhitar Gosh, 1996).

solution motion to the president if the assembly put forward a government non-confidence vote, but if, within 30 days, parliament had elected a new prime minister that motion could be annulled. The process of appointing a prime minister was shared between president and parliament—National Assembly. Upon election the president put forward a prime minister's candidacy for parliamentary approval. If he or she was not approved, parliament had the authority to elect a prime minister within 15 days. If not elected, the president could dissolve parliament and appoint the prime minister.

In 1993–1994 the opposition to the official draft of the constitution was growing within the parties opposing the president Ter-Petrosyan and six parties (with the exception of two major opposition actors—the Communist Party and the Union of National Self-determination) formed an alliance and developed their own draft of the constitution, known as "the Draft of six": Dashnaktsutyun, Ramkavar-Azatakan, Democratic, Republican and Agrarian Parties as well as the Union of Constitutional Self-government. This elaborated draft had the one developed by Ramkavar-Azatakan Party as its basis. Accordingly, the president—the head of the state—had to be elected by a special body, comprised of the members of parliament—National Assembly or Council and equal numbers of the representatives of the local self-government bodies. The president was allowed to dissolve parliament in specific cases. The president could dissolve the assembly if the latter presented a nonconfidence vote to the government, but was unable to appoint a new government within fifteen days. The government was authorized to request a confidence vote regarding its activities or any other draft law. In the case the National Assembly voted against it and within twenty-one days was unable to appoint a new prime minister, the president, by proposal of the prime minister, was authorized to dissolve parliament. The president was also authorized to put forward for parliamentary confirmation the candidacy of the prime minister. The rest of the cabinet was presented to the parliament by the head of government. If parliament would not approve the candidacy of the prime minister put forward by the president, the latter could appoint a caretaker head of government, and parliament within twenty one days had to elect the prime minister. If it was unable to do so, the president was authorized to dissolve the

legislature.

Besides the discussion over the content of the constitution, debate took place on how it had to be adopted. Three possibilities existed: one being to adopt a constitution by parliamentary vote. Then the acting constitution and the law "On the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Armenia" granted the right solely to the parliament.[12] A second option was drafting and adopting a constitution by the Constitutional Convention—the representative body with legislative authority, elected by the citizens solely for the purpose of elaboration and adoption of the constitution. Finally a constitution could be adopted by referendum. President Ter-Petrosyan presented his views on those options during the meetings of the Constitutional Commission on March 2 and 27, 1993 and later in his speeches at the parliament. He stated that the draft must be elaborated by the Constitutional Commission and the draft approved by the commission had to be presented for parliamentary consideration and debate, but the final word had to belong to the citizens, who had to ratify the draft by referendum and the parliament had to make necessary legal provisions, allowing presentation of the draft constitution for referendum. The president did not exclude that two drafts could be proposed for the referendum—one advocating strong presidency and another one advocating parliamentary government. The president found it inappropriate to convoke the Constitutional Convention, because the members of the parliament were competent enough to come up with the draft constitution. The president's position was supported by the Armenian National Movement (ANM) faction of the parliament, which formed a majority in the legislature after the 1990 parliamentary elections.

Other political actors like Dashnaktsutyun, National Democratic Union, Democratic and Republican Parties were advocating the idea of Constitutional Convention, presenting their own *pro* arguments. According to them the Constitutional Commission's staff, as well as a non-professional parliament were not competent enough to elaborate a draft constitution. Elected in 1990 the Supreme Soviet by the mid-1990s

12 Vladimir Nazaryan—one of the authors of the Draft of six, who was supporting the idea of Constitutional Convention, stated that the acting constitution made provision for presenting to referendum the most important issues of the state, but not the constitution or draft laws.

lacked popular confidence, and in contrast a convention will have the clear mandate of the citizens. The final argument for the elections of the Constitutional Convention was that the body that had to elaborate and adopt the draft constitution, had to be not only politically neutral but also independent from the existing power institutions. The commission was headed by the president—chief executive, and the deputy of the commission—the Minister of Justice—was appointed directly by the president. Having such a composition, in the opposition's opinion, the commission was not politically neutral and would adopt a draft favorable to the executive and the president. Consequently the opposition decided to boycott the work of the Constitutional Commission, stating that it was acting under the direct pressure of the president and would adopt the draft designed for the president. The opposition actors were advocating the election of the Constituent Assembly, that would not have its own political interests and would be able to choose and propose for the referendum a draft meeting the interests and values of the state and the nation, but not the interests of one person or one of the branches of government.[13] For a while the president, while advocating the idea of the referendum, was proposing the following: the parliament will vote for one of the drafts—the draft of the Constitutional Commission or the "Draft of six." The one receiving a qualified majority will be proposed for the referendum without parliamentary debate. If no draft gets a qualified majority both of them will be proposed for the referendum. In the case of the "Draft of six" being accepted, the president and the government will resign and in case the Constitutional Commission's draft gets the majority, new presidential and parliamentary elections will take place. Still the issue was not settled till March 27, 1995 when the decision was made to have the draft constitution ratified by two thirds parliamentary majority, having to put forward for nation-wide referendum the sole parliamentary adopted version.

On April 20, 1994 the Constitutional Commission presented its new draft to the Supreme Soviet, which on June 1, 1994 had taken a decision to expand commission membership, to be supplemented by one repre-

13 In March 1993 parliament held an extraordinary session to discuss the issue of calling elections for the Constituent Assembly. 91 MPs—which was not enough—voted for holding Constitutional assembly.

sentative from each socio-political organization represented in the parliament, as well as one representative from each group, which had developed alternative constitutional drafts. This commission, which was comprised of 32 members, held 56 meetings till April 13, 1995 and was headed by then Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Babken Ararktsian, elected by the parliament to chair the commission as well.[14] On July 23, 1994 the Constitutional Commission finally decided which draft would become the basis for further elaboration. It satisfied the demand of V. Nazaryan, R. Hakobyan and A. Navasardyan—authors of the "Draft of six" not to vote on their draft and voted to elaborate draft and later have it modified by the commission as a basis for further work, and finally to be presented to the Supreme Soviet. The legislature started the discussion of the presented draft on May 2, 1995. On May 12, 1995 it adopted the resolution "On the draft of the Constitution of the Republic of Armenia", deciding to accept the draft developed by the commission and present it for referendum to be called on July 5, 1995. The draft had to be adopted, if more than half of the citizens who participated in the referendum voted for it, but no less than one third of the electorate had to participate.[15] The official data on the referendum presented by the authorities, but accused by the opposition of fraud, offered the following figures: out of 2,189,804 citizens 1,217,531 participated in the referendum and 823,370—about 68 percent of participants or 37.6 percent of all eligible voters voted for the proposed draft.

The 1995 Constitution in Action: Semipresidentialism within Armenian Reality

The adoption of the Constitution underlines the next major step within the process of regime development of the Republic of Armenia. *Formally* it could be presented as a semipresidential constitution, but *political practice* had shown more signs of presidential dominance rather than signs of

14 Khachatrian, *Pervaia Konstitutsiia*, pp. 21–23.

15 At the referendum, the citizens of Armenia had to answer the following question: "Do you agree to accept the Constitution of the Republic of Armenia approved by the Supreme Soviet?"

balance in executive-legislative relations. The President of the Republic is elected by general election for five years and is not allowed to hold the office for more than two subsequent terms. The president appoints and dismisses the prime minister and the latter submits the list of government members. Within twenty days after its formation the government must present the program of its activities to the National Assembly (NA) for approval. The National Assembly—a unicameral 131-member parliament,[16] within 24 hours can initiate a nonconfidence vote by one third of its members. If no action takes place or the vote is not supported, the program is approved. If a nonconfidence vote[17] is passed, the prime minister presents to the president the government's resignation and the president within 20 days accepts it, while forming a new government. The government executes executive authority in the republic. The meetings of the government are chaired by the president or *per procurationem* by the prime minister, who leads the daily activities of the government and coordinates the work of the ministries.

The president signs and makes public the laws adopted by the parliament. The National Assembly adopts bills by simple majority if more than half of the MPs participate in the voting. Some decisions require a qualified majority of more than half of all the members of the NA—such as the decision on the resignation of the president or the nonconfidence vote. In case of objections and suggestions the president can return the bill for new debate within twenty-one days. The parliament can vote for the same version by a qualified majority. In that case the president has to sign and publish the law within five days. As a last measure after the consultations with the prime minister and the chairman of the NA, the president can dissolve the parliament and call for new elections. Two exemptions exist—within the first year after the elections of the NA and the last six months of the president's term in office.

The president makes major civil appointments. By the proposal of the prime minister he appoints and dismisses the Prosecutor General, four

16 The first National Assembly elected on July 5, 1995, the same day the constitutional referendum took place, had 190 members.

17 The nonconfidence vote could be initiated by the parliament also during the parliamentary session by no less than one-third of MPs or by the members of the parliament in way of initiation of the law.

out of nine members of the Constitutional Court. If the parliament does not appoint the chairman of the Constitutional Court within 30 days after its formation, the president appoints him as well. The President represents the country within the foreign relations, leads and heads foreign policy, concludes international treaties, and signs treaties ratified by the NA. He or she appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives. The president is also the Commander in Chief of the military forces and makes the appointments for high ranking military positions. By the proposal of the president the parliament makes the decision to declare war and the president makes the decision on the use of military force. Theoretically the parliament could impeach the president for high treason or other crimes. By a majority of votes it could apply to hear the opinion of the Constitutional Court. And if the parliament gets a positive opinion supported by two thirds of the members of the Constitutional Court, it can impeach the president. The president can also resign as was the case in 1998 with the first president L. Ter-Petrosyan, who held a second term in office in 1996 after elections with disputed results.

The Constitution proclaims the principle of power separation, but in fact it provides little if any means for real checks and balances. Neither does it guarantee the independent function of the branches of government. It could be viewed as a triangular structure that includes legislative, executive and judicial branches that are overshadowed by the presidential institution. The semipresidential regime founded in 1991 got its continuation in the 1995 Constitution that could be blamed for the existence and presence of pseudo-democratic political practice, especially within the period of 1995 to 1997. Within the constitutional framework two possible development trajectories could be outlined. The first one, with the president supported by one-party parliamentary majority, gave him practically unlimited power execution within almost all spheres of state politics and policy. Actually that was Armenia's political reality from 1995 to 1997, when the regime could be best described in terms of superpresidentialism with the legislative, executive and judicial branches totally subordinate to the president and political process and practice in Armenia at that period could be best described as pseudo-democratic, functioning under the guise of semipresidential constitution.

A second development path allowed certain dualism within the lead-

ership and more balanced executive-legislative relations in case a parliamentary majority did not support the presidential policy or the majority, while support for the president was rather coalition-based. The semipresidential constitution allowed a relatively smooth shift of power such as the one that occurred in Armenia at the beginning of 1998. President Ter-Petrosyan lost the support of the parliamentary majority, when about forty deputies defected from the then ruling *Hanrapetutyun* (Republic) coalition mostly towards the Yerkrapah deputy group.[18] Before taking the decision to resign he had two other possibilities. The first one—dissolution of the parliament and a call for new elections, but there were no guarantees for the president that the newly elected parliament would support his policies. The second possibility supposed the coexistence or *cohabitation* of the president with the opposing prime minister supported by a parliamentary majority.

However, the first elected president Levon Ter-Petrosyan decided to resign. His resignation was mostly influenced by the contradictions that divided the governing elite over the Karabakh conflict settlement issue. On November 1, 1997 Armenian mass media published the president's article "War or Peace—the moment of earnest," presenting two major approaches toward conflict settlement—the so-called "stage-by-stage" and "package" approaches. While the president was opting for the former solution, as became clear during the Security Council meeting held on January 7 and 8, 1998, Prime Minister R. Kocharyan, Defense minister V. Manukyan, and Interior and National Security minister S. Sargsyan, were against that. On January 14, Prime Minister Kocharyan, during a meeting with journalists, accepted that there were considerable contradictions within the highest power echelons. A few days later the Karabakh president, A. Ghukasyan, also denied the appropriateness of the stage-by-stage approach, getting an implicit response from Ter-Petrosyan

18 According to the existing constitutional norms, in case of presidential resignation he is followed in that position by the Chairman of National Assembly and if that is impossible by the prime minister. After Ter-Petrosyan's resignation parliament's chairman—Babken Ararktsyan—a close ally to the president resigned from his position as well, so the prime minister—R. Kocharyan became acting president. Amendments developed in 2001 had added the Chairman of the Constitutional Court as the third person in the chain of command for presidency, after taking into account the events of October 27, 1999, when both the Chairman of the National Assembly and Prime Minister were assassinated.

via his press secretary, mentioning that the Karabakh leadership should not interfere in Armenian internal affairs. But Armenian *siloviki* (top security and military officials) had already defined their position and the only ally to the president at that time, Yerevan mayor V. Siradeghyan, resigned on February 2. The same day, the ruling parliamentary coalition "Republic" block, formed in 1995, dissolved and a majority joined the "Yerkrapah" deputies group formed in the autumn of 1997. Having nobody and nothing to cling to power with, Ter-Petrosyan resigned on February 3 and the next day the leader of the "Yerkrapah" deputies group, A.Bazeyan, already spoke on behalf of a new parliamentary majority. On February 4, 1998 the National Assembly accepted the resignation of Ter-Petrosyan and in accordance with the Constitution, new elections took place within forty days. Robert Kocharyan won on the second round of elections, which put him face-to-face with the former first secretary of the Communist party of Armenia—Karen Demirchyan, silent within Armenian politics since 1988, when he was sacked and replaced by Suren Harutyunyan within the party hierarchy. Officially, neither of the two were party affiliated, but it was generally recognized that Kocharyan had the support of Yerkrapah and a few other rather small parties and groups, while Demirchyan had the support of a newly formed protoparty called the People's Party. With 59.49 percent of the votes Robert Kocharyan was elected the second President of the Republic of Armenia.

The Call for Constitution Redesign

Being incumbent Robert Kocharyan put the issue of constitutional reform as one of the cornerstones of his electoral platform, considering amendments as absolutely necessary. As stated by a Constitutional Court member, F. Tokhyan, there were three major fields within the process of constitutional re-design; human rights issues, interrelations between branches of government and assurance of a real checks and balances system and the redesign of the existing system of local self government. Being elected in 1998 as president R. Kocharyan on May 19, 1998 signed a Decree forming the Constitutional Reform Preparation

Committee under the President of the Republic of Armenia. That first committee under the newly elected president, staffed by 32 members, existed till July 1999. Having been formed on the principle of fair representation, it consisted of half professional lawyers, especially experts on constitutional law; the other 50 percent being representatives from different political parties present at the National Assembly of Armenia. The committee was headed by Paruir Hayrikyan—a Soviet-era human rights activist and dissident and later prominent figure on the Armenian political scene. Major issues within the committee's activities were executed by the task group, which was comprised of seven members of the commission. Later on, when the committee continued its work in 1999, the composition changed and it was formed solely on professional grounds with sixteen members.

The committee was working closely with the European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission). Their joint meetings, aiming for the improvement of the existing constitution and liquidation of the existing gaps and controversies, started in April 2000 in Strasbourg and later continued in Yerevan and again in Strasbourg in December 2000 to January 2001. As a result of those meetings the proposals and amendments elaborated by the Constitutional Reform Preparation Committee got an expert assessment and the proposed changes were reviewed. Later concrete amendments and their justification were presented for each revised part of the Constitution. The nature of the proposed amendments, as mentioned by F. Tokhyan, allows the draft to be named a completely "new version" of the existing Constitution. It is even hard to call those changes just amendments.[19] In addition to the draft elaborated by the Constitutional Committee, alternatives were presented by the Armenian Communist Party and by Shavarsh Kocharyan, then Chairman of the Standing Commission of the National Assembly for Science and Education, advocating parliamentary government. The package with proposed constitutional amendments was presented to the National Assembly in July 2001. Parliamentary debates started during the fall session, and lasted till spring of 2003 when the amendments package was proposed for referendum (in May), but failed

19 About half of the currently existing 117 articles were changed or were proposed under the new edition and about twenty new articles were introduced.

to gain the necessary majority of popular votes.

The first principal arena of the constitutional re-design had to do with human rights issues. The intended changes were based "upon the principle of the prevalence of law and constitution with a prevalent role of intrinsic human rights." Some other related parts of the Constitution also had to be improved within the Armenian membership of the Council of Europe. Among the long list of obligations that country has to fulfill within the human rights field in order to become a CoE member, Armenia faces obligations to cancel the death penalty, adopt a law on the commissioner on human rights, i.e., to introduce the Ombudsman institution, adopt new laws on mass media, political parties, non-governmental organizations, alternative military service, accomplish judicial reform, make guarantees for a completely independent judiciary and guarantee citizens the right to appeal to the Constitutional Court.

One of the articles changed dramatically was related to the citizenship issue. While the existing Constitution does not allow Armenian citizens to be a citizen of another country, a proposed draft alternatively contained no limitations for dual citizenship. The Constitution also introduced changes related to capital punishment—not allowing it to be used in future with the exception of the cases of war.

The second major issue addressed within the amendment process was to ensure power separation and clarification of the president's authorities, meanwhile assuring the independence of the judiciary, as well as more independence for cabinet activities, including the prime minister's, and parliamentary activities, forging the institutionalization of the Armenian parliament and strengthening its independence. The purpose was to assure a smooth system transformation and assurance of the power separation principle as a basis for sustainable democratic development in future. Within the Armenian context the issue could be rephrased as follows: the executive-legislative relations and relations between the president and other branches of government must become balanced and ensure checks and balance. This was to be done without altering the semipresidential framework of the Constitution, as a general agreement between the Constitutional Committee and the Venice Commission was achieved not to discuss the possibility of changes to the existing structure, as mentioned in the report after the meeting in Stras-

bourg on April 25–26, 2000. The existing institutional macro-settings are viewed by current authorities as pretty reliable, allowing major political crises to be overcome, such as those of 1998 when president L. Ter-Petrosyan resigned or in 1999 when terrorists attacked the Armenian parliament building and killed the speaker of the National Assembly, Karen Demirchyan, the prime minister Vazgen Sargsyan, both vice speakers and some other high ranking officials and members of parliament. Especially, what causes most problems are the articles that concern discrete authorities of the National Assembly, possible limits that could be set on presidential powers, the sphere of his authorities and the process of decision-making by the head of state.

In addition to those issues, another crucial set of problems concerns the process of appointing the prime minister and government as well as the judges—the issue which is also related to the problem of limiting presidential powers and creation of a more effective checks and balances system in Armenia. Some amendments were aimed at the decreasing of presidential authorities; for example, the president would no longer be able to veto all decisions of government and he or she would also lose in part the right to dismiss the majority of judges, but mostly amendments aim at strengthening branches of government, introducing more balances and checks into the system, clarifying the role of the president as head of state as well as clarifying some controversial or unclear points within the existing Constitution. Within the part of the Constitution related to the president, the following major amendments were noticeable. The draft changed the process of decision-making regarding the adoption of laws. According to the existing norms, the parliament adopted the law and the president could sign it within a twenty-one day period or he had a right to return it to the National Assembly within that period of time with his suggestions and objections and requesting new discussion. Parliament could override the veto by a majority of 50 percent plus one vote and in that case the president signed the law within five days. The proposed draft introduced the following option. The bill adopted by the National Assembly the second time is to be signed by president within five days or he could submit it to the Constitutional Court to get a conclusion if the law corresponds to the Constitution of Armenia.

Among the major constitutional amendments proposed by the Con-

stitutional Committee was the process of the appointment of the prime minister. The draft proposed by the Constitutional Committee has a completely new article that introduces changes into that process. In the case that the prime minister was not appointed by the president within twenty days or a governmental program (in the proposal "an outline of the program") did not receive a vote of confidence, the National Assembly, after the end of that period and within two weeks, appoints the prime minister and by his proposal also appoints the government. The procedure requires an absolute majority of votes within the parliament (50 percent plus one vote). In the case of the National Assembly not appointing the government in that way, the president again has a right to appoint the prime minister and members of government. If the latter do not receive a confidence vote from the parliament, the president dissolves the parliament and calls new parliamentary elections no earlier than 30 days and no later than forty days after the dissolution of the National Assembly. Those amendments provide at least some institutional and constitutionally guaranteed mechanisms to overcome a possible crisis that could arise in different cases: for example, when a new parliamentary majority was formed as a result of the elections and its goals and policy do not correspond to those of the president. Within previous settings it depended only on the (good) will of the president to propose to the parliament the candidacy that will get a majority of parliamentary votes—as was the case after the 1999 parliamentary elections, when Vazgen Sargsyan was appointed prime minister and was backed by a solid parliamentary majority. But the system provides little incentive for the president to share power with the prime minister or parliament and that could lead to a constant deadlock that in political science is considered mostly to be a feature of a presidential system rather that of semi-presidentialism. In case of major and constant controversy between the president and parliament there are no institutional mechanisms allowing the parliament to appoint the government it will support.

Amendments proposed in 2001 granted the National Assembly an authority not just to reject or approve the nominee of the president (a kind of passive position) but prescribe a more active role in the process of forming the government and in cases when the parliamentary majority has priorities different from those of the president the proposed

amendments allow the legislature to swear into office the government of its own choice. In addition, what made the government more independent within the presented amendments was a proposed change in Article 86 that no longer requires the signature of the president for all governmental decisions.[20] Another provision that aimed at strengthening parliament's role was amending Article 85. According to the current Constitution the structure of the government is decided by presidential decree, but the proposed amendments made the governmental structure the subject of the law, so it could be changed by an ordinary legislative act and in case the president disagrees the existing parliamentary majority of 50 percent plus one (that supports the government) could override the veto.

Another major issue that caused constant controversy within the constitutional amendment process was and still is the issue of parliamentary dissolution by the president. Within the currently existing Constitution, the head of state is allowed to dissolve the legislature after consultations with the prime minister and parliament speaker, with two time-bound exemptions not allowing dissolution—during the president's last six months in office and the first year after parliamentary elections. Though amendments proposed in 2001 lack those two provisions they tried to clarify the dissolution process to the greatest extent possible. According to the draft, the president, after consultation with the chairman of parliament and prime minister, can dissolve parliament and call for new elections only in cases supposed by the Constitution and a way prescribed by it. That meant that in addition to the case already discussed above, the president will have constitutional rights to dissolve the parliament in the following four cases: If the government appointed by the legislature did not fulfill the budget and the program approved by the parliament. If the parliament did not deliberate within two months on a draft presented as immediate by the government. If during the regular session the parliamentary meetings are interrupted for more than two months, and finally if during the regular session the parliament is unable to deliberate and make any decision for more than two months. Those provisions would allow the president to dissolve parliament mostly in

20 The same article stated that the President may suspend a governmental decision and apply to the Constitutional Court to study its conformity with the Constitution.

the cases when there is a danger of the malfunction of the governmental system and introduce more stability for parliamentarians, making the dissolution of parliament not a process of presidential personal desire but a process that fits certain logic and arguably could prevent system malfunction.

That draft was really very positive in the sense of fostering further democratization within institutional settings, but it failed to get the needed approval. Such an outcome in a certain sense was predetermined, as neither party, pro-governmental nor the opposition, was satisfied with the draft presented for the referendum by the end of parliamentary debates. Those supporting the president were dissatisfied with the decreasing authority of the head of state, while the opposition was insisting on more substantial changes and more authority to be given to the parliament. Neither of the parties was prepared to advocate the draft at the referendum, being concerned more with the outcomes of simultaneously held parliamentary elections, rather than supporting the amended constitution draft. In addition, certain political leaders—from both camps—having ambitions for the next presidential elections (R. Kocharyan by the time of constitutional debates in the parliament already had secured his second and last allowed term as president), would prefer potentially more authority with the office of president, rather than that of prime minister or the parliament, within given conditions of underdeveloped parties and party system. By the end, after brief campaigning, the draft did not survive the referendum. Among the reasons one can mention briefly, the almost non-existent nature of the campaign, low awareness among the populus, uninterested elites that included the outgoing president and his dissatisfied supporters as well as the opposition, which carried out negative propaganda during the campaign period. The draft constitution did not survive the referendum cum parliamentary elections, under conditions, when actually no political actors in Armenia had been really interested in having it accepted.

Alexander MARKAROV

Instead of Conclusion: The Coalition to Hoist Constitutional Amendments Flag

In the aftermath of the failed constitutional referendum and simultaneously held May 2003 parliamentary elections, three winning parties—the Republican Party, Orinats Erkir and Dashnaktsutyun—that supported Kocharyan in the 2003 presidential elections and got his support at parliamentary elections, formed a governing coalition, which continued the constitutional amendment process. Coalition member-parties had signed the memorandum, which had declared that one of its major aims was to implement constitutional amendments. The memorandum also fixed portfolio distribution between coalition member parties. The parliament chairman was elected from the Orinats Erkir party—A. Baghdasaryan, and two deputy chairmen represented the remaining coalition members—V. Hovhannisyan was elected from Dashnaktsutyun and T. Torosyan was from the Republican Party. In addition, coalition members divided chairmanship positions within the standing committees of parliament and ministerial portfolios. Dashnaktsutyun got chairmanship in the NA Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs as well as being responsible for proposing three ministers for health, agriculture, and social security. The Republicans got leadership in three standing committees: one for financial, budgetary and economic issues; the second for science, education, culture and youth affairs; and third, the judicial committee. The prime minister also came from their party. Actually Kocharyan instituted a tradition, appointing the prime minister from the party that had a majority in the parliament, in 1999 to 2000 appointing as prime minister the leader of the party having a majority of seats within the parliament. Later, after V. Manukyan was assassinated on October 27, 1999 he was followed by his brother and then in May of 2000 by A. Manukyan—again the leader of the Republican Party, which had a relative majority within the National Assembly. He stayed as prime minister also after the 2003 parliamentary elections as the leader of the party that got a relative majority. In addition to the prime minister's position, Republicans were also requested to propose candidates for the positions of government chief of staff, ministers of trade and economic development,

environment, energy, transportation and communication, finance and economy, territorial governance. Orinats Erkir got two standing committees (for social, health and environment issues; defense, national security and internal affairs), as well as three ministry portfolios (urban building; education and science; culture, youth affairs and sport). Three remaining ministry portfolios—(defense, justice and foreign affairs) had to be determined and appointed by the President.

The new stage within the constitutional amendment process was carried out mostly through the newly formed temporary parliamentary committee on European integration. It also had to address the issues related to the obligations Armenia had been assigned within its membership of the Council of Europe. The committee was headed by the deputy chairman of the parliament, T. Torosyan, and the commission involved one representative from each party represented in the parliament.[21] Within one year of parliamentary elections, coalition parties had developed their draft of constitutional amendments and presented it to the parliament in August 2004. In addition, two more drafts were developed. First, by one of the opposition leaders A. Sadoyan, while the second came from the parliamentary party, the United Labor Party (ULP), headed by G. Arsenyan. The former of those two drafts, following tradition set by the opposition in the early 90s, advocated a significant increase in parliamentary authority and made the republic president almost a figurehead, while the latter draft presented by the ULP, according to the Venice Commission, ensured "a better balance of powers by strengthening the government and the National Assembly's position."[22]

21 Representatives of the opposition parties/parliamentary factions boycotted the activities of the temporary commission as well as the activities of the National Assembly as a whole, requesting implementation of the Constitutional Court decision related to holding a referendum of confidence. After the disputed presidential elections, in April 2003 the Constitutional Court adopted a decision, according to which the decision of the Central Electoral Commission that announced Kocharyan elected president was valid, but in another part of the decision, the Court recommended the president and parliament to consider the possibility of having a referendum of confidence within a one-year period.

22 European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission), *Interim Opinion on Constitutional Reforms in the Republic of Armenia*, Strasbourg, December 6, 2004, Opinion no. 313/2004. The opinion was adopted by the Venice Commission at its 61st Plenary Session, Venice, December 3–4, 2004, on the basis of comments by: Mr. Aivars Endziņš (Member, Latvia), Mr. Kaarlo Tuori (Member, Finland), Mr. Owen Masters (Expert,

In spring of 2005 the National Assembly started debates over the draft proposals of amendments to the Constitution of Armenia with a decision taken on May 11, 2005 to approve, upon first reading, the draft proposed by the coalition and to make it a basis for further deliberation. Two other drafts became part of Armenian political history: Sadoyan's draft, receiving 13 votes for, with 36 abstentions and no votes against, and a ULP draft getting 19 pro votes with 29 abstentions and again none against.[23] Meanwhile, following the National Assembly's decision, the Venice Commission issued a press release, supported by the opposition parties in Armenia, where the members of the commission's Working Group on Constitutional Reform in Armenia expressed "their deep dissatisfaction" with the text adopted upon first reading, stressing that the commission's suggestions presented within the interim report did not get their place in the draft, "notably those concerning the balance of powers between the President and the Parliament—which implies a stronger role of the National Assembly—, the independence of the judiciary and the elections of the Mayor of Yerevan (instead of his appointment by the President)." It was suggested the amendments be "drastically revised, before they undergo the second reading" by the commission member from Finland, Kaarlo Tuori.[24] That means that the battle for the constitution (that was believed to be put forward for the referendum in autumn of 2005) will still go on. The coalition has to take into consideration the Venice Commission's position, while it simply ignores opposition requests, which have no influence within parliamentary decision-making process. On the other hand, its position might be advocated via the Venice Commission activities, as the opposition points and those of the Commission do overlap, stressing a more accountable presidency, more autonomy for the branches of government and local government. Meanwhile, the commission's suggestions are less radical, more realistic, and acceptable for the coalition, providing a basis for negotiations over the existing

United Kingdom), and Mr. Bruno Nascimbene (Expert, Italy). CDL-AD(2004)044 [http://www.venice.coe.int/docs/2004/CDL-AD(2004)044-e.asp (valid as of January 29, 2007)].

23 *RFE/RL Newsline*, May 12, 2005.

24 Venice Commission, *The Draft Armenian Constitution Needs Drastic Changes*, Press Release, Strasbourg, May 27, 2005.

draft and its improvement, and further parliamentary deliberation.

Summing up the semipresidentialism genesis in Armenia, the table below represents some major steps within its development. The president, be it Ter-Petrosyan or Kocharyan, for the majority of his time in office enjoyed some type of majority within the parliament, but its nature varied from an absolute majority enjoyed by the first president till February of 1998 to a coalitional majority, formed in the aftermath of the 2003 parliamentary elections. Current constitutional amendments proposed and supported by the coalitional majority within parliament obviously will not introduce changes in the semipresidential regime in Armenia, but the issue on the agenda is whether either of those amendments will allow the creation of a more unbiased governance system, with more effective checks and balances and a more independent parliament and judiciary, or if those changes will become a guise for the system with a strong president, and another outbreak of delegative democracy.

Table 12.1.

	1991 – 1995	1995 – Feb. 1998	Feb. 1998	Feb. 1998 – May 1999	May 1999 – May 2000	May 2000 – May 2003	May 2003 – up to now
Presidential majority in the parliament	Yes, ANM	Yes, majority within "Republic" quasi-coalition block		Yes, relative		Yes, relative	Coalition of three parties
			No, newly formed Yerkrapah majority in the National Assembly		No, Unity block. An alliance between Republican Party and the People's Party of Armenia		

13

Sergey GOLUNOV

Drug-Trafficking through the Russia-Kazakhstan Border: Challenge and Responses

Today the dissemination of drugs is one of the most serious global challenges. Its destroying influence seems to be more dangerous than international terrorism. It is true that Russia is one of the main drugs consumers in the world. This paper focuses on the main direction of transboundary drug-trafficking to Russia, which is also the most socially dangerous kind of illegal transborder activity between Kazakhstan and Russia. The latter is reflected both in the cost of smuggling items and the number of people, lost for society as a result of taking opiates and other narcotics.

In order to estimate the scale of the problem and possible solutions, several key issues of drug-trafficking across the Russia-Kazakhstan border will be analyzed. These issues are: 1) global and regional conjuncture; 2) directions and routes of trafficking (including the significance of the Russia-Kazakhstan border); 3) the structure of drug abuse in border areas; 4) organization of drug-trafficking; 5) measures taken against drug-trafficking and narcotism.

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Sergey GOLUNOV

Global and Regional Conjuncture

According to the UN, there are currently 200 million drug users in the world.[1] Marijuana is the drug of choice with approximately 140 million consumers. Another 30 million people use amphetamine-type stimulants, 13 million people use cocaine and 8 million to heroin.[2] Due to its profitability, it would be near impossible to eradicate drug trafficking in the foreseeable future. Drugs have a profit margin of 1000 percent, and the United Nations' experts claim that the annual turnover of drug industry is from $55 to 400 billion. This amount constitutes at least 8 percent of the world trade. The International Monetary Fund estimates that every year 1.5 trillion "drug dollars" are laundered, which constitutes 5 percent of world gross product.[3] Due to the huge financial resources, the drug industry is able to adjust itself easily to changing circumstances and to react quickly to new measures against it. This illicit business also takes an active part in globalization, being its shady side.

At present the structure of the drug trade depends on many factors, including product demand, specialization and geography of production, the narcotics business' reaction to counter-measures of national and international bodies, to name a few. Drugs are typically produced in Southern and South-Eastern Asia as well as third world countries in Latin America. In some regions planting and harvesting narcotics is the key income for the local population. The most powerful flows of drugs are directed according to purchasing capacity of transit states' and regions' population. Some such flows finish in these countries while others reach the more profitable EU and US markets.

Drug dealing is carried out by individuals, small groups as well as larger criminal organizations. The structure of drug dealing is made up

1 See "Ostanovit' narkoagressiiu," Press-Release of the Federal Service of the Russian Federation for Control over Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances [http://www.gnk.gov.ru/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=49]. Here and below, all the URLs are valid as of January 29, 2007.

2 See M. Ashimbaev, G. Kurganbaeva, L. Muzaparova, L. Guseva, A. Dosymov, "Narkotizatsiia obshchestva: sostoianie, problemy, opyt protivodeistviia," *Analiticheskoe obozrenie* 1 (2004), p. 7.

3 Ibid.

of drug producers, laboratories (if necessary), a network of couriers (who often do not know each other), wholesale markets, and retailers, as well as additional units, such as killers, extortionists, and money launderers, which in Russian-speaking areas are called *krysha*, which means "roof" as well as "corrupted officials of all levels" in slang. The drug business is not a strictly centralized structure. This is due to the huge drug market's capacity and the necessity of secrecy in order to preserve the key units when inauspicious circumstances take place such as arrests. Nevertheless, some individuals or groups cooperate with one another, integrating their information on the sale of drugs, conspiracy, counteraction to law-enforcement bodies and money laundering. With respect to intergroup cooperation, Columbian cartels are much more centralized than the major Eurasian narcotics groups, which appear to be at the early stages of formation.

Directions and Routes of Trafficking: The Role of the Russia-Kazakhstan Borderland

Producing up to 80 percent of opiates in the world, Afghanistan remains the main hub of "hard" drug production in Eurasia. Most opiates from Afghanistan are transported to the EU, which is the market with the largest purchasing capacity, via the Balkan route, which crosses Iran, Turkey, and the Balkan countries. At the same time the importance of the Northern, or *Silk* route, which crosses through Central Asia, Russia and states of Eastern Europe is increasing at a rapid rate and Afghanistan's narcotics are steadily being redirected through this region. Poppy plantations' squares increase quickly in provinces bordering upon the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) countries.

The global state of the cannabis market differs from the heroin market. Because of the relatively low cost ($0.3–0.4 per gram in the CIS), a larger volume of cannabis is smuggled across borders. The larger volume of cannabis also increases the risk of being discovered. The favorable natural conditions for large-scaled cannabis planting (and wild vegetation) in wider geographic areas, such as Central Asia also influences the conjuncture of this illicit market. The key cannabis trafficking routes are much

shorter than the trafficking routes for opiates. It should be noted, however, that the Middle East and Central Asia provide a small percentage of the world's cannabis supply. But at the regional level, such areas as the valley of the Chu (Shu) River belonging to Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are large suppliers of marijuana and hashish northwards to Russia.

Transportation of amphetamine-type stimulants is carried out in the opposite direction—from Europe to Central Asia and does not have an influence on the structure of drug consumption in concerned region.

The Russia-Kazakhstan border, which is the lengthiest continuous boundary in the world and extends over more than 7000 kilometers, has the key importance both for drug trafficking and the fight against it. When smugglers cross this border, they find themselves in another region and price zone. This border is one of the largest transit points on the way to the EU, and at the same time, one of the most capacious drug markets. The drug-related arrests at the Kazakhstan-Russian border is evidence of the huge scale of narcotraffic; the South-Eastern Regional Department of Border Guard Service seized more than 3.5 tons of heroin from 1997 to 2004. In 2004 alone, 416 kilograms of drugs including 100 kilograms of heroin were seized by border guards.[4] Unfortunately, border and customs services do not always take stock of all seizures. This figure may be greatly underestimated as custom services (at least in the United States) are known to reveal only 5–10 percent of the total amount of drugs seized. According to many experts' estimates (which are based on similar US experience), border and customs services of Russia and Kazakhstan seize no more than 10 percent of smuggled drugs even in the favorable conditions—including effective border management and international technical aid to the mentioned services. Experts supposed that in 2002–2003, 100–150 tons were transported through the territory of Kazakhstan. In 2002 only 168 kilograms of heroin were seized.[5]

Conditions and volume of drug transportation across the border depend on many factors, including border regime, landscape, communications, and partly on the extent in which local population is involved in

4 "Vosem' ugolovnykh del vozbuzhdeno v otnoshenii pogranichnikov-vziatochnikov na rossiisko-kazakhstanskoi granitse," Interfaks-Ural, December 24, 2004 [http://news.74mail.ru/news.php?news_id=27894].

5 Ashimbaev et al., "Narkotizatsiia obshchestva," p. 5.

this illicit activity. The combination of mentioned factors shapes the structure of drug-trafficking in the area.

The Russia-Kazakhstan border is a contact one with respect to the landscape and communications. The landscape on the both sides is similar, with steppes and semi-deserts with rare, natural obstacles. The border rivers divide the two countries over a stretch of no longer than 150 kilometers. Natural obstacles are mainly found in the border stretches of the Republic of Altai and part of the Altai krai: this area is mountainous and therefore transboundary communication is much more difficult than elsewhere. But the geographic features typical of the remaining borderland make it suitable for communication transport: the border is crossed by 16 railways, about 200 roads (6 highways, 36 roads have pavement, 33 roads have no pavement, the rest are dirt roads and difficult to negotiate in bad weather).[6]

Such contactivity is convenient for drug transit using existing transport facilities despite the checkpoints. The use of major routes essentially shortens the delivery time. Drug smugglers do not believe that border and customs' checkpoints are insurmountable; they employ modern technologies in order to conceal drugs, and take advantage of high intensity of traffic and insufficient equipment of border guards and customs officials. These tactics leave few chances for the police to find and seize narcotics. However, as the chief of the drug control department of the Siberian Customs Service, lieutenant-colonel V. V. Kalinin pointed out, it is not profitable to transport large lots of drugs because it increases the risk of detention and full inspection.[7] According to estimates of Russian Border Guard Service experts, at least 70 percent of the smuggled drugs are transported through working checkpoints rather than avoiding them. Yet other drug couriers use main motorways, railways, roads and paths trying to escape the border control.

Large-scale drug-trafficking takes place in almost every province.

6 Calculated from: Chelovek i granitsa: Rossiisko-kazakhstanskoe prigranich'e: Sotsial'nyi pasport i odnomernye statisticheskie raspredeleniia, Cheliabinsk, 2001, pp. 6, 11, 14–16, 24, 29, 34, 43, 48; data collected by the author was also used.

7 Information of the interview of Dr. Grigorii Olekh with the Head of Department for the Struggle against Drugs Smuggling at Siberian Operational Customs Office, Lieutenant Colonel of Customs Service V. Kalinin, August 4, 2004.

There is one exception; the Republic of Altai's borders are in the highlands and there is no regular communication. As it was mentioned above, heroin trafficking routes are on average longer than cannabis trafficking routes, and they are also more diversified. Cannabis is transported the Chu valley situated in the south of Kazakhstan while opiates flow from Afghanistan through the territory of Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. The opiate and cannabis delivery routes cross the border at the same points. These routes can be subdivided into a few main flows in the Russian illegal wholesale markets:

1. The *South Volga route* passes from Western Kazakhstan to the Low Volga region, and then branches to the Ukraine and the EU, Central Russia, the Volga regions and Northern Caucasus. Drugs cross the border between Atyrau and Astrakhan oblasts.
2. The *Northwestern route* stretches from Western Kazakhstan, Aktiubinsk, Kostanai, Karaganda and Northern Kazakhstan oblasts of Kazakhstan through Saratov, Samara, Orenburg, Cheliabinsk and Kurgan oblasts and then to non-bordering Kazakhstan oblasts of the Ural Federal District (Sverdlovsk oblast, Khanty-Mansi and Yamalo-Nenets autonomous districts), the Volga region and the central regions of Russia, mainly to Moscow, St. Petersburg. Some lots from the capitals are transported to countries in Eastern Europe.
3. The *Northeastern route* passes from Northern Kazakhstan, Karaganda, Pavlodar, Eastern Kazakhstan oblasts through Kurgan, Omsk, Tiumen, Novosibirsk oblasts and Altai krai to gas-and-oil producing regions of Siberia.

Based on the information concerning drug seizures at the Russia-Kazakhstan border, the author can surmise that in the last few years the main transboundary drug-trafficking routes have been shifting gradually eastwards. At the same time, the total volume of smuggled drugs is increasing along the length of the border. This tendency can be interpreted as the result of the high purchasing capacity of the population of the gas-and-oil producing regions in contrast to other Russian provinces. This the reason that this market is getting more attractive, taking into account the continuing rise of oil price.

The network of transboundary motorways crossing the border is more dense than the railways. The number of motorways with asphalt pave-

ment, leading from the center of the country to the border is seven times as great as the number of corresponding railways. Using motorways, smugglers can choose the time of delivery most convenient for them. This is why cars and especially lorries are used by couriers more often than trains. On the other hand, when narcotics are transported by passenger buses and trains, Customs and Border Guard officers have relatively little time to inspect passengers and freight. At some border sections, in particular in Volgograd and Astrakhan oblasts, drugs are more often transported by trains because there are few motorways in these regions.

The Structure of Drug Abuse in Border Areas

In Kazakhstan, as of March 2003, about 48,000 people were drug addicts (70 percent of them were heroin users) according to the information of the Ministry of Health Care, but by some unofficial estimates, a more accurate number of addicts was 250,000. By some Kazakhstan experts' point of view, 30 percent of the imported drugs are left in the country and 70 percent are transported out of the country, mostly to Russia.[8] In Russia, about 400,000 persons are officially registered as drug addicts. During a one-year period (from autumn 2004 until summer 2005) state officials from various departments "increased" this number from 2 million (Prosecutor-General Vladimir Ustinov, November 2004)[9] to 4 million (the Minister of Interior Affairs Rashid Nurgaliev, December 2004),[10] or 3–8 million (the Director of the Department for Interdepartmental Interaction in the Preventive Sphere of Gosnarkokontol Boris Tselinskii, June 2005).[11] In July 2005 the Ministry of Health Care and Social Development stated that there are 1.5 million drug addicts in addition to the 6

8 Ashimbaev et al., "Narkotizatsiia obshchestva," pp. 5–6.

9 Diana Igoshina, "Rossiya pereshla na geroin," Strana.ru., December 15, 2004 [http://www.strana.ru/stories/01/08/21/1260/235825.html].

10 "MVD: v Rossii 4 milliona narkomanov," Cry.ru, December 15, 2004 [http://www.cry.ru/2004/12/15/news/201318/].

11 "V Rossii 5,5 percent naseleniia – narkomany: Ofitsial'naia statistika – v 16 raz men'she, " NEWSru.com, June 15, 2005 [http://www.newsru.com/russia/15jun2005/narkomany.html].

million people who have taken narcotics at some point.[12] This figure surpasses corresponding indexes of heroin addicts in Great Britain and Italy (260,000), Germany (170,000), France (165,000), Spain (145,000)[13] and other European countries. At the same time, the mass-media and officials (including those from Gosnarkokontrol [Russian Federal Service for the Control over Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances]) often manipulated these figures in an attempt to present the situation as catastrophic and to persuade the society to take extraordinary measures. They focused the attention of public opinion on the number of 6 million. It should be noted that for the last 10 years, the number of drug addicts has increased 10 times, and according to expert evaluations, the annual income of drug dealers is from $8 to 18 billion.[14]

Among the imported narcotics, cannabis-derived drugs (marijuana, hashish) and opiates (heroin and opium) dominate. As mentioned above, cannabis derived drugs are transported in large amounts because of their low price, shorter transport routes and the necessity of crossing only one (Russia-Kazakhstan) or two (also between Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan) borders. But in many reports issued from 2000, Border Guard and Customs officials stress that the share of hard drug seizures increased in comparison with the share of soft drugs. It is because the heroin business is more profitable, small lots can be easier hidden from control, even from guard dogs.

Further development of cross-border drug-trafficking through Russia-Kazakhstan boundary will depend on solvent demand and profitability of the drug business. Considerable heroin influx to the border areas promotes price-cutting which causes the reduction in drug dealers' incomes. This effect provokes the drug dealers to invest in cheaper narcotics, particularly in opium as it accelerates. Naturally the number of seizures of large lots of opium has been substantially increasing recently.

12 Ol'ga Stroinova, "V odinochku nikto ne pobedit," *Parlamentskaia gazeta*, October 26, 2005 [http://www.pnp.ru/archive/18050110.html].

13 *World Drug Report 2004* (Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2004), p. 29.

14 "Narkoagressiya: Ni v kakoi drugoi strane mira ona ne priobrela takikh masshtabov, kak v Rossii," (interview with a Deputy Director of the Federal Service for Control over Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances Lieutenant-General Aleksandr Mikhailov), *Rodnaia gazeta*, May 14, 2004, p. 6.

Drug addicts try to make heroin from opium at home. Many Russian experts suppose that in Russia there is an increasing number of clandestine laboratories where raw opium is converted into heroin.[15]

Organization of Drug-Trafficking

The illegal transboundary transportation of drugs makes the couriers use more sophisticated methods of concealment. These manifold methods can be subdivided into at least six types: (1) masking drugs in vegetables and fruits transports, industrial goods and raw materials; (2) concealment inside human bodies (swallowing etc.); (3) concealment in baggage, under a carrier's clothes and inside shoes; (4) fitting up inside cars, lorries and train carriages; (5) concealment in packed lots of products and industrial goods (including factory wrapping and built-in hiding places; and (6) discarding drugs before arrival at checkpoints, which are later picked up by accessories.

In many respects, the method of drug transportation is determined by peculiarities of the transborder drug dealing organization. The following kinds of structural drug trafficking organizations, which move through the Russia-Kazakhstan border, can be marked out:

1. Individuals, who are independent from organized criminal groupings, transport small lots of drugs and sell them directly to consumers or at "wholesale markets." According to law-enforcement officials, this activity is carried out by people coming from Central Asia and other regions. They often mask their criminal intentions by buying and selling of other forms of mass consumption goods.

Small independent groups, which are usually formed by 3–5 people, transport drugs and sell them directly to the customer or at "wholesale markets." Such groups often comprised of family members. This type of organization allows smuggling of larger quantities of narcotics rather

15 In particular, this is the opinion of some Russian Border Guard Service's officials interviewed by Dr. Vadim Astashin during the international project "Drug-Trafficking as a Challenge to Russia-Kazakhstan Border Security" headed by the author and held in 2004 with support of the Transnational Crime and Corruption Center of American University (Washington, D.C., USA).

than trafficking carried out by individuals, and often provides a mutual safety net for the criminals involved. These criminal groups, or "teams," do not stay together for a long time in the majority of cases.

2. The Major groups or groups associations control all key areas of drug trafficking, at least from purchasing to supply at wholesale markets. According to the Russian Federal Service for Control over Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances, the drug business in Russia is controlled by 950 organized criminal groups,[16] but not all of them transport drugs across borders. Those which are engaged in the drug industry sometimes allocate duties at various stages of the drug trade, including the transportation between specific parts of the route, bribery, blackmail, sale, etc.). Information on the level of organized crime development is poor and is given by police and security agencies and its volume is always strictly controlled.

In the post-Soviet period one of the main trends of transboundary narcotraffic has become the organized crime growth. They want to control not only smuggling, but sales as well. A considerable part or even the majority of these groups specialize in several kinds of transboundary criminal activity (e.g., smuggling in arms or consumer goods, human trafficking, stealing of cars, etc.). However, the author can agree with the following point of view: "small criminal groups, often consolidated due to relative or ethnic links, dominate."[17] Large hierarchical cartels of monopolists, controlling all operations of the drug market, have yet to appear. By some experts' estimates, there is no highly-centralized structure on the Northern route. This is true even through the longer Balkan route as both are used by many competing narcotic cartels.[18] The process of centralization is hampered by several factors, including the presence of broad lands for activity, necessity to survive in a hostile environment (it is easier to discover centralized structures) and even by unwritten norms of the criminal community. According to these norms,

16 Ibid.

17 Ekaterina Stepanova, "Nezakonnyi oborot narkotikov i ego sviazi s konfliktami i terrorizmom: Afganistan i Tsentral'naia Aziia," in *Razoruzhenie i bezopasnost', 2001–2002: Mezhdunarodnaia bezopasnost', novye ugrozy novogo tysiacheletiia* (Moscow, 2003), pp. 67–68.

18 Ibid. See also Emil' Pain, "Etnicheskaia spetsifika kontrabandy narkotikov v Rossiiu: mify i real'nost'," International Eurasian Institute for Economic and Political Research [http://www.iicas.org/libr_rus/sng/18_02_03_libr_rus_sng.htm].

drug-trafficking is a condemned occupation even among organized criminals who restrain their involvement to this process.

Supplying drugs to Russia, large groups divide traffic into several stages at which different carriers are involved; in some cases these carriers act as second-hand dealers. With such a scheme drugs are delivered to a fixed place and passed on to another courier who pays his or her partner for the completed work.

It is difficult to discover such criminal networks and it reduces the effectiveness of the "restriction strategy" of the struggle against narcotraffic. It is often admitted by Russian Law enforcement officials[19] that in most situations, only small dealers and consumers are detained and convicted in the majority of criminal cases. Arrests of ordinary couriers do not pose a serious threat to the narcobusiness as replacing these couriers is not difficult. No wonder that the tactical achievements of police and security agencies cannot change the situation in the long term: organized criminals in Russia and Kazakhstan redesign their strategy and tactics. Sometimes criminal groups provide official structures by good indices for their reports exposing inveterate drug addicts (called *verbliudy* [camels] in slang) to police or servicemen at border control.

Together with corrupted officials (see below), criminal groups recruit employees of professions, which have the status or professional skill that helps smugglers bypass border control. Among such professions are railway workers and conductors of trains, passenger bus drivers and workers of wrapper-producing enterprises. Many inhabitants of border areas are also recruited to participate in the criminal business as they are perfectly orientated with the local and are well-informed about the Border Guard and Customs Services' work. According to estimations of some officials, more than 80 percent of the active local population works for smugglers in some of the border districts of the Volgograd and Astrakhan regions.[20] For a considerable number of the local, border area inhabitants, illegal transboundary operations are almost the sole source of income. The drug smugglers can pay assistants ten times as much as their legal salaries.

Russian officials often stress the ethnic character of the criminal

19 N. Kovalev, "Nezakonnyi oborot narkotikov ugrozhaet bezopasnosti i tselostnosti Rossii," *Narkomat* 1 (2003), p. 13.

20 Information provided by Dr. Vadim Astashin (see n. 15 above).

groups when considering the drug trafficking activities across the Russia-Kazakhstan border. They assert that the most of these groups are made up of Central Asian people, and mostly are Tajik criminal communities united by ethnic and family ties. The Russian officials also mention Caucasian (especially Azerbaijani) and Gipsy criminal groups.

Unfortunately, both mass-medias and officials often equate such criminal groups with ethnic communities as a whole. Such statements do not correspond with the statistical data. The calculation of the data, on the contrary, leads to a conclusion that drug-trafficking in Russia is an international business. As the Chief of Russian Federal Service for the Control over Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances (Gosnarkokontrol) Viktor Cherkesov stated on 30 March 2004, that only 330 of the 950 drug trafficking groups are formed on an ethnic basis.[21] In addition, the Head of Siberian Federal District Branch of the Agency for Control over Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances, A. Vedernikov notes that the majority of drug-traffickers and dealers arrested in this district were Russian citizens.[22] Ethnic Russians are often used for transporting large quantities of drugs, as such persons do not arouse suspicions at the border and customs control.

On the whole, ethnicity (the role of Tajik, Uzbek and other migrants from Central Asia) is not a decisive factor in drug-trafficking, although it is crucial at some stages from poppy growth to retail distribution. In many cases, the Russian citizens and ethnic Russians (or representatives of other "European" ethnic groups) are both at the top of the most powerful groups and control the key stages of narcotraffic in Russia and transport to EU countries. According to opinions of the officials of the Astrakhan border guard, customs, and Gosnarkokontrol services, the role of Russian-dominated criminal groups has been increasing while the coordination centers of their activities have been moving from border

21 "Rasshirennoe zasedanie Kollegii FSN Rossii," Federal Service for Control over Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances, April 30, 2004 [http://www.gnk.gov.ru/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=72&mode=thread&order=0&thold=0].

22 Information recorded by Dr. Grigorii Olekh at a press conference of the Head of Siberian Federal District Branch of the Agency for Control over Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances, Lieutenant-General of Police, A. Vedernikov at the "Interfax-Siberia" News Agency, July 30, 2004.

regions close to Central Asia to Moscow during the last years.[23]

In an attempt to provide safety for their smuggling operations, drug-traffickers try to establish ties with border officials and structures, who are able to facilitate the transboundary transportation of narcotics, help them avoid punishment, or possibly return the confiscated drugs. Among the mentioned structures are border guard and customs services, regional branches of the Gosnarkokontrol, and the police. The most widely known facts concerning such corruption ties denote the involvement of low- and middle-level officials. Assumptions that many higher-standing officials are involved in narco-mafia are also widespread. The amounts of the bribes proposed can be a hundred times as great as the salary of these officials, especially with the border and customs control. However, several factors restrain the increase of narco-corruption. These include the risk of severe punishment, the possibility to get illegal income by far less risky ways, such as assistance to smugglers in consumer goods and some informal rules condemning drug-related activities, that are accepted even by criminal environment including bribable customs officials.

Measures Taken against Drug-Trafficking and Narcotism

Taking into account the considerations above, drug-trafficking is regarded as the most serious challenge for Russian border security in the direction of Kazakhstan. The present situation calls for serious measures against smuggling flows. The rough assessed value is comparable to Russian foreign trade turnover with Kazakhstan and causing huge damage to economic and social spheres.

Within the international experience, there are three main ways to combat narcotraffic: (1) restriction measures, including strengthening of border and customs control; (2) demand reduction programs, such as social advertising, health protection, active policy towards the youth; and (3) limited legalization of some drugs.

A combination of military and police measures, often referred to as "the war against drugs." aims to make effective barriers at national bor-

23 Information provided by Dr. Vadim Astashin (see n. 15 above).

ders and seize illegal narcotics inside the country. It is almost the only way to try to diminish supply in a short space of time. Other ways, probably except international cooperation for struggle against drug-trafficking along its routes beginning with producer countries, could not have such fast and evident results.

However, international experience shows that the long-term effects of such strategies are not always so evident. For example, as American political scientist R. Lee assumes that the "war against drugs" in the United States resulted in an evident defeat: though the United States has spent roughly $23 billion for drug export prevention and border protection programs, heroin and cocaine have become more cheap and available than at the end of 1990s. The mentioned measures caused reconfiguration of the transnational narcobusiness in the Americas: the role of the Mexican narco-cartels has been strengthened in comparison with Columbian ones.[24] Such a categorical estimation of the US policy's results seems to be questionable, but in the author's opinion, such a conclusion is reasonable in that the police and military force are principally insufficient for an effective struggle against drug-trafficking.

The most popular alternative strategy is to demand reduction, including prophylactic, rehabilitation, informational and other programs aiming to diminish the consumption of drugs. This way is far more economical: according to research carried out by RAND Corporation in 1994, $34 million invested in demand reduction produced an effect comparable with $783 million invested in antinarcotics programs or $366 million for restriction measures.[25] However, demand reduction is not a panacea, especially with respect to those who are drug-dependent as antinarcotic advertising has little influence on their consumption. Additionally, a decrease in demand will evidently cause price-cutting, which could again increase the supply and widen the illegal market.

Advocates of absolute or partial liberalization of drugs argue that this

24 Rensselaer W. Lee, "Transnational Organized Crime: An Overview," in Tom Farer, ed., *Transnational Crime in the Americas: Inter-American Dialogue Book* (New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 31.

25 Council on Foreign Relations, *Rethinking International Drug Control: Task Force Report* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1997), p. 33, cited in Lee, "Transnational Organized Crime," p. 33.

way will do away with the narco-mafia as it will undermine its financial[26] and organizational potential, reduce related crime and corruption, and allow the state to take control of the drug markets. At the same time, this way may cause an increase in consumption. In addition, criminal groups can easily redirect their illegal activities, including even more dangerous kinds of activities such as arms smuggling.[27]

To all appearances, Russia has chosen restriction measures which stress the necessity of the "hard-edged struggle against drug-trafficking." The same and even more expressive vocabulary than that used in the United States in the 1980s has been used. Such a perception is sometimes combined with ideas in the manner of "conspiracy theory," according to which the spread of drugs in Russia is not an uncontrollable process but "narco-aggression" against Russia skillfully organized by its enemies (the Uited States or some clandestine forces such as Zionists). This kind of idea represents a graphic example of an interpretation of non-traditional threats in traditional terms, and it induces to search for a "traditional" adversary supposedly waging a war behind the scenes. Within this approach, the situation in Russia is perceived as unique, and its systematic comparison with international experience in the struggle against drug-trafficking and drug consumption is rarely done. On the other hand, there is a serious danger that many elements of this international experience (including an unsuccessful one) will be spontaneously reproduced in less favorable conditions and with an even smaller effect.

Actually, the supporters of restriction measures in Russia and Kazakhstan propose a similar strategy to that which was used by the United States in the 1980–1990s, taking into account far more modest resources. This strategy is apparently the most popular both in power structures and in public opinion. The combination of concrete measures includes the strengthening of technical and organizational potential of force structures, the development of informational databases, the equipping of border checkpoints, and the establishment of new cynological centers. These activities require an essential increase in funding that is

26 As an illustration to this statement there are some estimates, according to which smuggling and following distribution of drugs make up 80–90 percent of Columbian narco-mafia's income. See Lee, "Transnational Organized Crime," p. 35.

27 Ibid.

sometimes achieved at the expense of other important areas. These areas, such as education, health care, support for children and youth activities, may have a direct or indirect importance in the struggle against narcotism.

The increase in support for the "restriction policy" has been somewhat fruitful, which is reflected in the greater number of arrests and volume of seized drugs. In some border regions, such as in the Orenburg oblast, prices for heroin doubled and achieved 1000 rubles, or approximately $35 per gram. As discussed above, however, military and police structures, which have been able to provide good indices on seizures, were not, however, able to prevent an increase in consumption in the long term, as organization of supply proved to be very flexible and able to adjust to changing circumstances.

The efficiency assessment of the restrictive anti-narcotic policy in Russia brings us to a rather sad conclusion. Based on moderate experts' estimations that assume the average Russian heroin addict consumes 0.5 grams daily and the total number of addicts is 1 million, the demand for heroin in Russia is more than 180 tons annually. As was mentioned before, the South Eastern Branch of the Federal Border Guard Service seized only 3.5 tons of heroin (that means 500 kilograms per year, on average) during the entire period of its existence. In 2003 Federal Customs Service seized 488 kilograms,[28] and in 2004, more than 680 kilograms of this drug was seized.[29] Hence, the total volume of heroin that is confiscated annually by Border Guard and Customs services is less than 1 percent of the Russian market demand while all law enforcement agencies taken together seize no more than 2.5 percent of the volume demanded by Russian heroin market.

Additionally, the growth of arrest statistics is partially reflected in the arrests of ordinary consumers; the share of criminal cases involving consumers was 60 percent of all drug-related trials in 2000.[30] It is no

28 Federal'naia tamozhennaia sluzhba Rossii, "Obzor deiatel'nosti tamozhennykh organov po bor'be s kontrabandoi narkotikov v 2003 godu" [http://www.customs.ru/ru/right_def/index.php?part592=10].

29 Federal'naia tamozhennaia sluzhba Rossii, "Itogi raboty Glavnogo upravleniia po bor'be s kontrabandoi FTS Rossii za 2004 god" [http://www.customs.ru/ru/right_def/fight_with_contraband/index.php?&date286=200507&id286=8724].

30 Kovalev, "Nezakonnyi oborot narkotikov," p. 13.

wonder that in 2002, when the legally allowed amounts of drugs that a consumer could have in his possession without a risk to be prosecuted was increased, the number of drug-related crimes decreased by 25 percent, according to Kazakhstan's official statistical information.[31] A similar situation took place in Russia; in 2004 the above-mentioned amounts were also increased.[32] This decision of the Russian Government has been sharply criticized by Gosnarkokontrol and other agencies. It seems that such critics are partially justified, but at the same time such a decision will not have the essential influence on the volume of drug smuggling: transportation of permissible amounts does not cover the travel expenses of the couriers. So, the influence of the new norms on the volume of transboundary drug-trafficking to Russia is not evident while it caused a sharp decrease in statistics reflecting the achievements of the military and police forces.

The main alternative to prohibition and restrictive measures in Russia and Kazakhstan is the demand reduction policy. Some elements of this strategy are present in national and regional, and including border regions, anti-drug programs. Kazakhstan puts special stress on demand reduction measures due to the region's limited resources. In the Strategy of the Struggle against Narcotism and Narcobusiness in Kazakhstan for the years 2001–2005, it is stated that "the reduction of demand for drugs is the main instrument and the most prospective direction in overcoming drug addiction and drug business."[33]

Similar efforts, directed towards drug-demand reduction and rehabilitation of drug addicts, are carried out in the border regions. The Saratov oblast is an example of a relatively successful regional policy,

31 Ashimbaev et al., "Narkotizatsiia obshchestva," p. 7.

32 According to the resolution drug consumers could own less than 1 gram of heroin or 20 grams of marijuana without the risk of being prosecuted for a criminal offence. See the Resolution of the Russian government N 231 "Ob utverzhdenii razmerov srednikh razovykh doz narkoticheskikh veshchestv dlia tselei statei 228, 228(1) i 229 Ugolovnogo kodeksa Rossiiskoi Federatsii [On the Approval of the Size of Average One-Time Doses of Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances for Purposes of Articles 228, 228(1) and 229 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation]," adopted on May 6, 2004.

33 "Strategiia bor'by s narkomaniei i narkobiznesom v Respublike Kazakhstan na 2001–2005 gody." The document was confirmed by the Decree of the President of Kazakhstan, No. 394, on May 16, 2000.

where anti-drug centers work in some settlements (e.g., Balakovo, Krasnoarmeisk, Saratov). The oblast administration support clubs for teenagers and civil society structures, which carry out special projects. As a result the rate of drug addiction growth has slowed.[34] In Tiumen oblast, the Committee for Preventive Measures and Fight against Drug Addiction has been working since March 2001 as a part of the oblast administration. It coordinates activities within and between departments of education, science, health care, informational policy, social defense of population, committee on the young, tourism, physical culture and sport.[35]

In Russia and Kazakhstan, measures taken for demand reduction should be more systematic, and coordination between military and police structures must be more effective. The chronic lack of financing is an even more serious problem; in Orenburg oblast, proper programs were financed (by federal and provincial authorities) 12 percent in 2003 and 6 percent in the first half of 2004.[36] In these conditions taking the most effective steps is difficult. Such steps may be, for instance, advertising against drug use in the mass media.

Suggestions concerning the legalization of "soft" narcotics were not seriously supported in Russia and Kazakhstan. There are strong arguments against such decisions, some of which have already been mentioned. The societies in both countries are intolerant towards drug addicts, and they are not ready to adopt such a decision. In some cases, persons who declare support for drug legalization are announced as representatives of the drug lobby, which is supported by the drug dealers. Taking into account these considerations, any serious discussion on drug legalization in Russia and Kazakhstan is not expected in the foreseeable future.

34 "Privetstvie gubernatora Aiatskova," *Narkomat* 3 (2003), p. 4.

35 See the statement of the deputy of the Federation Council of Russia A. S. Gavrin at the Second World Congress of Antinarcotic Forces, Moscow, June 26–27, 2003: "Tiumenskaia oblast' bez narkotikov" [http://www.narkotiki.ru/ocomments_5542.html].

36 Privolzhskii Federal'nyi okrug, Kollegiia po voprosam bezopasnosti pri polnomochnom predstavitele Prezidenta Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Koordinatsionnoe soveshchanie rukovoditelei pravookhranitel'nykh organov, "O sostoianii i merakh po protivodeistviiu narkomanii i nezakonnomu oborotu narkotikov" (report distributed to official organizations), Nizhny Novgorod, 2004.

Conclusion

The Russia-Kazakhstan border is situated at the one of the most intensively used routes of international drug-trafficking. Unfortunately, smugglers now have a wide range of methods used to avoid border and customs control. Most of the drugs are brought through existing checkpoints and, taking into account these possibilities, there are no grounds to assume that more than 5–10 percent of such contraband is seized. Local achievements in some border regions may only result in the reorganization of various drug-trafficking structures, which are very flexible in respect to changing conditions. Demand reduction programs are poorly financed both in border regions and at the national level. Meanwhile, international experience shows that such programs can bring results with far fewer investments than for military and police measures.

Some common recommendations for the Russian and Kazakhstan's power structures are:

1. To stress the closure of borders as the panacea for the struggle against transboundary drug-trafficking is inexpedient. This recommendation is based on the fact that most smuggling goes through the existing checkpoints while flawed inspection procedures and the low salaries of officials make evident breaches within the system of control at the Russian borders.
2. Demand reduction should have more importance in national and regional antinarcotics programs. This is especially true in the border provinces and regions situated at the main routes of narcotraffic. Taking into account special vulnerability of enormously lengthy Russian boundaries, huge expenses with sufficient salaries for responsible officials are required to establish an adequate border control.
3. Both decision-makers and the community at large should not use the struggle against drug-trafficking as justification to inflict violations against basic human rights. Because of the reasons discussed above, such measures will not bring essential improvement but rather they will pose a serious threat to democracy and human rights.

14

OKA Natsuko

Transnationalism As a Threat to State Security? Case Studies on Uighurs and Uzbeks in Kazakhstan

Transborder ethnic groups are often considered to be a threat to the security of states in which they reside. In particular, if an ethnic minority in a "host state" calls for help from a state in which their co-ethnics dominate (a "kin state"), this, it has been argued, might lead to conflict between the host state and the kin state, as the latter tries to meddle in the internal affairs of the host state to protect its ethnic kin, or even claim sovereignty over their settlements.

Post-Soviet Kazakhstan provides a variety of examples for the study of interrelationship between host state, minority, and ethnic homeland.[1] Among ethnic communities straddling Kazakhstan's borderlands, the extant studies have focused almost exclusively on the Russians, the largest non-titular nationality in the republic. In the years following the end of the Soviet order, their potential call for unification with the Russian Federation was seen as the greatest danger to Kazakhstan's integrity. The Russians, however, did not take to the streets with separatist demands. The passive attitude by the Russian population has been explained by several

1 For definition of ethnic homeland and kin state, see Charles King, "Introduction: Nationalism, Transnationalism, and Postcommunism," in Charles King and Neil J. Melvin, eds., *Nations Abroad: Diaspora Politics and International Relations in the Former Soviet Union* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998), p. 12.

factors, among others, large out-migration to Russia, weak and diffused ethnic identity that made mobilization difficult, and Russia's vocal but not necessarily substantial policy toward its compatriots abroad.[2]

While considerable attention has been paid to the Russians, there remain only a limited scholarly account on Kazakhstan's other transborder nationalities. This paper focuses on the Uzbeks and the Uighurs, Turkic Muslim communities who have historically grown a strong attachment to their settlements within Kazakhstan, and examines why, despite predictions by some observers, these ethnic communities have not become a threat to the host state. As discussed below, the two groups' relationships with homelands have developed quite differently under the Soviet rule and since Kazakhstan's independence. By comparing them, the paper also highlights the varied nature of the relationship between Kazakhstan, its minority, and their ethnic homeland.

Minority-Homeland Relationship

One of the most important characteristics of the Soviet state structure was its multilayered federalism based on ethnicity. In the USSR, ethnicity was territorially institutionalized; each republic was perceived as a homeland for a particular nationality, in which its language and culture were promoted and ethnic cadres and intelligentsias were cultivated.[3] Needless to say, however, not all Soviet nationalities were fortunate to have their own national republic, and even if they did, not all of their members resided in it.

2 Neil Melvin, *Russians Beyond Russia: The Politics of National Identity* (London: Pinter, 1995); Neil J. Melvin, "The Russians: Diaspora and the End of Empire," in King and Melvin, *Nations Abroad*, pp. 27–57.

3 For detailed accounts of institutionalization of ethnicity under the Soviet rule, see Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001). On Soviet institutional legacy for ethnic mobilization during perestroika and nation building in newly independent states, see, for example, Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Dmitry P. Gorenburg, *Minority Ethnic Mobilization in the Russian Federation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

How did the Soviet breakup affect lives of non-titular minorities who found themselves on the "wrong" side of the border or did not have "their own" republic from the beginning? Focusing on the cases of the Uzbeks and the Uighurs in Kazakhstan, I analyze how their relationships with ethnic homelands have changed before and after the end of the Soviet order.

Uzbeks

The number of the Uzbeks in Kazakhstan is 370,000, or 2.5 percent of the country's whole population (based on the 1999 population census). 89.6 percent of them reside in the South Kazakhstan *oblast*, in which the Uzbeks amount to 16.8 percent of the oblast's population. Among its lower administrative units, areas in which Uzbeks are most concentrated are the city of Turkestan (42.7 percent), the Sairam *raion* (61.3 percent), and the oblast's capital Shymkent (15.0 percent). From Shymkent to Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, it is less than a two hour drive (120 kilometers), while it is a one hour and forty minute flight to Almaty, a former capital and the biggest city of Kazakhstan.

The Uzbeks located in the south have developed a strong sense of rootedness to their settlements and consider themselves indigenous to the region. Interestingly, this claim seems to be accepted by the authorities of Kazakhstan,[4] who have been asserting since independence that the current borders of the republic "correspond completely to the historically formed area of habitation of the Kazakh people."[5] And yet, the Uzbeks have never demanded that their settlements be incorporated into Uzbekistan's territory or a territorial autonomy be established within Kazakhstan.

Most probably, during the Soviet period, the Kazakhstan's Uzbek community did not feel that they lived outside of their homeland; they

4 On the official website of the Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan [http://www.assembly.kz/ (accessed June 23, 2005)], the Republican Association of Social Unions of the Uzbeks *Do'stlik* declares that the Uzbeks are an indigenous population (*korennoe naselenie*) to the South Kazakhstan oblast. In my conversation with officials from the oblast administration, they also supported this point of view.

5 Natsional'nyi sovet po gosudarstvennoi politike pri Prezidente Respubliki Kazakhstan, *Kontseptsiia formirovaniia gosudarstvennoi identichnosti Respubliki Kazakhstan* (Almaty, 1996), pp. 25–26.

belonged de facto to Uzbekistan's cultural, social, and economic space. In 1936, an oblast Uzbek newspaper printed in Shymkent in the 1920s was abolished.[6] An Uzbek theater in Kazakhstan—another important component of the Soviet nationalities policy—was also closed in 1941.[7] This lack of cultural institutions, however, did not cause serious inconvenience to the Kazakhstani Uzbeks. They subscribed to newspapers from Uzbekistan, enjoyed Uzbek TV and radio programs broadcast from there. Upon graduation of an Uzbek school in Kazakhstan, those who wished to receive higher education in their native language went to Tashkent or other cities within the neighboring republic. Many students remained there and joined the ranks of Uzbekistan's party apparatus. Thus, if Uzbeks wanted to enjoy privileges as members of the titular ethnicity, they could move relatively easily to neighboring Uzbekistan, without cutting themselves off from their hometown.

The collapse of the Soviet Union gradually but completely changed this situation. Although visa-exempt agreements are still in force between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, presenting an international passport is not enough to cross the border. According to the residents in the borderland area, it is necessary to certify a reason for visiting Uzbekistan; such regulations, they complain, have been intensified since the late 1990s.[8]

The growing distance between the Uzbek communities in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan is symbolized by the reopening of an official Uzbek newspaper, theater, and the establishment of a new university for Uzbek students within Kazakhstan. A state-owned oblast newspaper *Janubiy Qozoghiston* was launched in April 1991, shortly before the Soviet breakup.[9] In March 2003, the Oblast Uzbek Drama Theater was opened

6 Author's interview at the editorial board of the newspaper *Janubiy Qozoghiston*, March 9, 2005. Throughout the Soviet period, however, there were two Uzbek local newspapers printed in Turkestan and the Sairam raion.

7 The theater had been established in 1934. Author's interview with Z. Mominjanov, Director of the Uzbek Drama Theater, March 16, 2005. *Kazakhstanskaia pravda*, December 23, 2003. Here and below, non-Russian names are Latinized from Cyrillic script using the Russian spelling.

8 It is not unusual for people to cross the border at locations other than a checkpoint. Illegal border crossing "business" is also rampant.

9 The newspaper holds this name since 1998. In addition to official ones, several independent Uzbek newspapers have been issued since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

in the Sairam raion.[10] Although not state-sponsored, the Uzbek-Kazakh Engineering-Humanities University was established in the South Kazakhstan oblast in 1999.[11]

According to an Uzbek school principal in the Sairam village, in recent years almost all of the pupils go on to university in Kazakhstan.[12] One of the key issues here is the alphabet for the Uzbek language; in Uzbekistan, the Latin alphabet was introduced in 1993. Although the Cyrillic is still widely used, school education has completely shifted to the Latin script. Meanwhile, in Kazakhstan, all newspapers, school textbooks, and other publications in Uzbek are printed in the Soviet-made Cyrillic script.[13]

Thus, Kazakhstan's Uzbek community has been gradually distanced from Uzbekistan not only by an international border but also by different sources of information and even different alphabets used in school. The newly established Uzbek newspaper, theater and university in the South Kazakhstan oblast demonstrate the institutionalization of their minority status within Kazakhstan. Despite many newly created obstacles, however, contacts with homeland have not ceased to exist. For instance, personal ties between the Uzbeks on both sides are still very strong, as almost every Uzbek in the south of Kazakhstan has relatives in Uzbekistan.

Uighurs

The Uighur population in Kazakhstan amounts to 210,000, or 1.4 percent of the republic's total population (based on the 1999 population census). 95.6 percent of them reside in Almaty and the Almaty oblast, located in the southeastern part of the republic. The Uighurs account for 3.0 per-

10 *Kazakhstanskaia pravda*, December 23, 2003.

11 This is a private university and has campuses in Shymkent, Turkestan, and the Sairam raion. According to one of the organizers of the university, as of 2005 the main language of instruction is, contrary to their original idea, Kazakh.

12 Author's interview with Khalmurat Iuldashev, Principal of the Uzbek School No. 19 in the Sairam raion, March 16, 2005.

13 According to Khalmurat Iuldashev, in his school the Latin script was temporarily introduced in the second half of the 1990s, but the Cyrillic has been reintroduced afterwards. Author's interview, March 16, 2005.

cent of the population of Almaty (the city has a republican status and does not belong to the Almaty oblast), and 9.0 percent of the Almaty oblast. Within the oblast, areas with most compact Uighur settlements are the Uighur raion (55.4 percent), the Panfilov raion (29.4 percent), both of which border China, and the Enbekshikazakh raion (22.2 percent). Despite such geographical proximity to their homeland, the Uighurs had been almost completely isolated from co-ethnics in Xinjiang for more than two decades until the last years of the Soviet rule.

During the last two centuries, the Uighurs straddled the border that today separates the Semirech'e area, southeastern part of Kazakhstan, from the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Province of China. In the borderlands, multiple migrations occurred in two directions. In particular, the mass immigration from China to the Soviet Union in the 1950s to 1960s had significant impact on the self-understanding of the Uighurs in Kazakhstan. Using their own designations, Roberts divides the Uighurs into *yerliklär* ("locals"), who are born in Kazakhstan and whose families have lived there since at least 1900, and *kegänlär* ("newcomers"), whose parents or who themselves came to Kazakhstan in the 1950s and 1960s.[14] While both of the groups consider Xinjiang to be the home of their ancestors, *yerliklär*, as the name suggests, have developed a strong sense of attachment to Semirech'e and perceive themselves autochthonous to the region.

In 1963, the Sino-Soviet political split resulted in the complete closure of the border between Kazakhstan and China, and exchanges between the Uighurs on opposing sides were cut off. Meanwhile, with an aim to show the superiority of its nationalities policy over the Chinese one, the Soviet government strongly supported Uighur education and culture. The Uighurs were provided with a variety of cultural institutions—schools, mass media, theater, and a department of Uighur Studies at the

14 Other designations for *yerliklär* and *kegänlär* are *sovetliklär* ("Soviets") and *khitailiklär* ("Chinese") respectively. See Sean R. Roberts, "The Uighurs of the Kazakhstan Borderlands: Migration and the Nation," *Nationalities Papers* 26, no. 3 (1998), pp. 511–530. See also Ablet Kamalov, "Uighur Community in 1990s Central Asia: A Decade of Change," in Touraj Atabaki and Sanjyot Mehendale, eds., *Central Asia and the Caucasus: Transnationalism and Diaspora* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 152. In his article, Roberts divides the Uighurs in Kazakhstan into three groups; *yerliklär*, *kegänlär*, and temporary sojourners (primarily traders) from China.

Kazakh Academy of Science, which during the last decade of the USSR transformed into the Institute of Uighur Studies. Those institutions were located primarily in Kazakhstan, a republic with the largest Uighur population.[15] While the Soviet Uighurs used the Cyrillic script for their language, one of the two Uighur newspapers was published in the Arabic alphabet like in Xinjiang.

The reopening of the border between Xinjiang and Kazakhstan began in the late 1980s. The improvement of the Sino-Soviet relationship and then the collapse of the USSR in 1991 have resulted in renewed links between the Uighurs on opposing sides of the border in personal, cultural, economic, and other spheres.[16] Beijing has seen the cross-border exchange of the Uighurs with suspicion in fear that Kazakhstan might become an area of support for the independence movement of Xinjiang. Kamalov attributes the closing of many Uighur cultural institutions, most importantly the Institute of Uighur Studies (transformed into the Center of Uighur Studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies), and the Uighur newspaper printed in the Arabic script, to Chinese pressure.[17]

Although there is no movement seeking territorial autonomy for the Uighurs now in Kazakhstan,[18] the issue was discussed among the Uighur intelligentsia in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Their primary argument was demography: why do the Uighurs have no ethnic territory, when smaller nationalities are provided with autonomous republics or provinces? At the time of "a parade of sovereignty," the Uighurs also prepared a petition asking for autonomy. This letter, however, was never submitted to the party; the Uighur leadership worried that the already tense interethnic relations would deteriorate and decided not to

15 Kamalov, "Uighur Community," p. 152.

16 Sean R. Roberts, "A 'Land of Borderlands': Implications of Xinjiang's Trans-border Interactions," in S. Frederick Starr, ed., *Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), pp. 216–237.

17 Kamalov, "Uighur Community," p. 162.

18 Uighur activists stress that they do not demand territorial autonomy be created within Kazakhstan, or a part of Kazakhstan be attached to an Uighur state upon its foundation. However, some observers in Kazakhstan suspect that Uighurs might make separatist or irredentist demands. See, for example, Konstantin L. Syroezhkin, *Mify i real'nost' etnicheskogo separatizma v Kitae i bezopasnost' Tsentral'noi Azii* (Almaty, 2003), p. 441.

raise this question.[19]

While both of the Uzbeks and Uighurs in Kazakhstan are transborder ethnic communities, since the breakup of the USSR their relationship with respective homeland has changed in quite different directions. Under the Soviet rule, the Uzbeks in the south were practically integrated in Uzbekistan's cultural, social, and economic space, but since Kazakhstan's independence they have been increasingly distanced from the homeland. It was only after the collapse of the Soviet Union that the Uzbeks have become a "stranded" minority in Kazakhstan. In the case of the Uighurs, they were already a "diaspora" in a sense that it had a homeland outside of the Soviet state. The Uighur community had been cut off from homeland during the Sino-Soviet split, and the end of the conflict and then the collapse of the Soviet Union have resulted in an increase in contact with co-ethnics abroad.

International Relations around Minority

The most significant difference between the Uzbeks and Uighurs is whether or not they have a kin state. In this section, focusing on the relationships between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan (Uzbeks' kin state) as well as China (the state that rules Uighurs' homeland), it is examined whether and how the issue of minority matters in these relationships.

Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan

With the demise of the USSR, Kazakhstan had to delimitate borders with neighboring states, all of which, except China, were former Soviet republics. For Kazakhstan, the border with Uzbekistan was the most disputed one. Basically, both sides agreed to accept the previous administrative border as their new state boundary. However, the Soviet border between the two republics was not necessarily clear due to frequent exchange of territories and land leases.[20]

19 Author's interview with Kommunar Talipov, Director of the Center of Uighur Studies, Institute of Oriental Studies, September 23, 2004.

20 OKA Natsuko, *Kazafusutan no jinko hendo* [*Demographic changes in Kazakhstan*] (Tokyo: Institute of Economic Research, Hitotsubashi University, Discussion Paper No. D98-16,

What worried and irritated the Kazakhstani side most was perhaps the Uzbekistan's border guards. In early 2000, they were found undertaking unilateral demarcation of the border with Kazakhstan, allegedly deep inside Kazakhstan territory.[21] Moreover, the guards did not hesitate to open fire on local residents who, often not knowing where they were exactly located, crossed the border. (Such incident continued even after delimitation was completed.)[22] Naturally, shooting on Kazakhstani citizens by foreign authorities roused public sentiment in Kazakhstan. Antipathy to Uzbekistan and dissatisfaction with its own government were frequently expressed in newspapers and on the Internet. These incidents did affect interethnic relations among people living in the borderland area; an Uzbek resident of a border village admitted that anti-Uzbek slogans, such as "Uzbeks go home," were heard.

Some Kazakh inhabitants of the borderland, increasingly irritated by stalled delimitation talks, resorted to extreme measures. In December 2001, villagers from Baghys and Turkestanets, not knowing in which country they lived, declared the establishment of the "Baghys Kazakh Republic" to attract public attention to their desperate situation. The majority of the residents of Baghys and Turkestanets were ethnic Kazakh, and they wished that their settlements would be included in Kazakhstan's territory. This "independence" movement assumed an ethnic character and was obviously instigated by activists of *Azat*, a Kazakh nationalist organization.[23] Participants' primary concern, however, was their mundane problems rather than high politics.

Meanwhile, the both governments did not raise the issue of kin minority in the negotiation process. While in some cases ethnicity of resi-

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1999), p. 8.

21 International Crisis Group, *Central Asia: Border Disputes and Conflict Potential* (Osh and Brussels, 2002), pp. 7–8.

22 According to the prosecutor's office in Shymkent, four people were shot dead by Uzbekistani border guards from mid-1999 through June 2004. Olga Dosybieva, "Uzbek Border Death," *Reporting Central Asia* (Institute for War & Peace Reporting) 291 (June 8, 2004).

23 By delimitation, Baghys has been incorporated into Kazakhstan. Turkestanets has been passed into Uzbekistan's jurisdiction; most of its residents expressed their desire to move to the Kazakhstani territory. Daur Dosybiev, "Uzbekistan: Ethnic Kazaks Set to Leave," *Reporting Central Asia* 157 (November 1, 2002).

dents in a disputed territory was taken into account, the two states made no claim on each other to territory on the grounds that it is settled by co-ethnics. After multiple and complex negotiations, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan finally signed a border delimitation agreement in September 2002. As of July 2006, demarcation is still in progress.[24]

Neither Uzbekistan nor Kazakhstan dared to interfere in the matter of co-ethnics residing in another country, much less annexation of their settlements. As to the relationship between Tashkent and the Uzbeks abroad, Megoran points out that the Uzbekistan's foreign policy has not been influenced by the presence of the Uzbek minorities abroad. Rather, the Karimov administration has often met its ethnic kin with suspicion and even hostility.[25] Meanwhile, Kazakhstan has been encouraging ethnic Kazakhs abroad to "return" to their historic homeland.[26] Unlike Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan has suffered from a sharp decrease in its population since independence due to large out-migration and a relatively low birthrate. Moreover, Astana aims to increase the share of titular nationality, which is just over a half of the whole population of the republic.

Kazakhstan and China

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan and China have established close relations in a variety of spheres. Among others, the two states, together with Russia, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan set up the so-called "Shanghai Five," named after the place where its first summit was held in April 1996. The five states signed an agreement on confidence building measures in the borderland area, and subsequently China and the four CIS countries completed delimitation of respective borders. In June 2001, this regional framework accepted Uzbekistan as a new member and renamed itself the Shanghai Cooperation Organization

24 Information provided by Daur Dosybiev, independent journalist in Shymkent, Kazakhstan, July 3, 2006.

25 Nick Megoran, "The Borders of Eternal Friendship? The Politics and Pain of Nationalism and Identity along the Uzbekistan-Kyrgyzstan Ferghana Valley Boundary, 1999–2000" (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 2002), pp. 109–110.

26 Sally N. Cummings, "The Kazakhs: Demographics, Diasporas, and 'Return'," in King and Melvin, *Nations Abroad*, pp. 133–152; M. Auezov and S. Zhusupov, eds., *Immigratsionnaia politika v Kazakhstane na primere repatriantov iz dal'nego zarubezh'ia* (Almaty, 2000).

(SCO). A delimitation agreement between Kazakhstan and China was signed in July 1998.[27] In Kazakhstan, despite some criticism against Astana's allegedly too generous concessions to Beijing, this agreement did not trigger popular protest movement like in neighboring Kyrgyzstan.

China keeps its eyes on the Uighur communities abroad, and puts pressures on foreign governments not to allow Uighur activists to engage in anti-Chinese campaigns in their territories. Today, the chief agenda of the SCO has shifted to the fight against "separatism, extremism, and terrorism." Although each member state has different (but allegedly linked) targets such as Chechen insurgents and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, many Uighur leaders believe that the real purpose of the SCO is to suppress international Uighur movements.

Kazakhstan not only closely cooperates with China within the framework of the SCO, but also demonstrates its regard for its great neighbor over the issue of the Uighurs.[28] Astana bans Uighur independent movements within its territory, and categorically denies asylum to Chinese citizens. For example, in February 1999, Kazakhstan deported three Uighurs back to China where they were subsequently executed. This step aroused international criticism.[29] According to local NGO activists, since then no refugees have officially been deported back, but in fact Kazakhstani authorities did arrest some Uighurs and handed them to China.

Thus, despite disputes and conflict over the border delimitation and control, the governments of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan did not make an issue of co-ethnics during negotiations. On the contrary, the Uighur question is a matter of great importance in Sino-Kazakhstani relations. The Uighurs are sandwiched between a state hostile to any kind of their ethnic movements and the host state that seeks to keep friendly relations with that state.

27 IWASHITA Akihiro, "Shanhai purosesu no kiseki to tenbo: Soren hokai kara kiko setsuritsu made" [Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Its Formative Years and Prospects], *Roshia kenkyu* 34 (2002), p. 103.

28 Kamalov and Roberts argue that Kazakhstan plays the "Uighur card" to obtain concessions from China, or to gain China's support for its own agenda. See Kamalov, "Uighur Community," p. 162; Roberts, "A 'Land of Borderlands'," p. 233.

29 UNHCR Almaty, Kazakhstan, *Annual Protection Report*, November 1998–December 1999 (Almaty, 2000), p. 6.

Minorities' Strategy

How are minorities affected by their relationship with homeland as well as the relationship between Kazakhstan and the kin state or the state ruling their homeland? Do the Uzbeks take any action to be united with their co-ethnics? How do the Uighurs seek to cope with problems they face as a stateless nation? Below, I focus on the strategies taken by the Uzbeks and Uighurs since Kazakhstan's independence.

Exit

Unlike the Russians, the overwhelming majority of the Uzbeks and Uighurs have not chosen a strategy of exit. One of the factors preventing out-migration can be found in the strong indigenous identity among the Uzbeks in the south and the Uighur "locals." As discussed above, both of them consider themselves native to their settlements, not immigrants.

In the early 1990s, when living conditions were more favorable in Uzbekistan than in the south of Kazakhstan, a certain number of Uzbeks did leave for Uzbekistan. At any rate, however, Kazakhstani Uzbeks have not "returned" to their ethnic kin state on a massive scale like the Russians or Germans. Today, the Kazakhstan's rising economy all the more encourages them to stay; as of 2003, Kazakhstan's GNI per capita was four times larger than that of Uzbekistan. As most Uzbeks have relatives in the neighboring country, they are clearly aware of economic superiority of the state in which they live. On the part of Uzbekistan, it cannot afford to invite co-ethnics abroad; it already suffers from overpopulation and lacks resources for new immigrants. The tightening political control in Uzbekistan also appears to have discouraged the Uzbeks to move to their kin state.

Meanwhile, some analysts argue that Astana is settling ethnic Kazakh immigrants from abroad (*oralman*s) in primarily Uzbek villages to change the nationality composition in favor of the Kazakhs.[30] My respondents in Shymkent and the Sairam raion, however, related the set-

30 Igor Savin, "Upravlenie mestnymi mnogoetnichnymi soobshchestvami v Kazakhstane," in V. Tishkov and E. Fillipova, eds., *Mestnoe upravlenie mnogoetichnymi soobshchestvami v stranakh SNG* (Moscow, 2001), p. 287.

tlement of Kazakh "repatriates" in their region not to the intention of the government, but to the desire of *oralman*s themselves to live in a temperate climate.

With no kin state, the Uighurs are not leaving for their homeland under Chinese control.[31] Living in Xinjiang is not an attractive option as the Chinese policy toward the Uighurs is much more severe than that of Kazakhstan. Some Uighurs told me that they would wish to move to Xinjiang if and when an independent Uighur state was established—which is very unlikely in the near future. As is clear from the case of Uzbekistan, kin state does not necessarily welcome its co-ethnics. Stateless Uighurs, however, have high expectations of what "their own" state would have to offer. Meanwhile, a few Uighurs sought political asylum in Europe and North America.

Authorized Ethnic Movement

Today in Kazakhstan, with few exceptions, ethnic organizations are officially registered and act within the framework set by the regime. The area of their activities is mostly depoliticized; the main focus is put on national language (without questioning a status of the state—i.e. Kazakh—language), culture, and tradition.

In Kazakhstan, thirty five nationalities have ethnic organizations, officially registered as social associations (*obshchestvennoe ob"edinenie*). Most of them have their roots in so-called cultural centers that were born in the midst of perestroika. Out of them, thirty one join the Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan (APK),[32] a president's consultative body established in March 1995 to "strengthen public stability and interethnic accord" (it is chaired by the president himself).[33] With an official aim to

31 For example, in 1994, 284 Uighurs immigrated to Kazakhstan (among them 261 from the other CIS countries.) In the same year, 351 migrated from Kazakhstan (307 to the CIS countries.) In 1999, these numbers were 94(91), and 94(75) respectively. See Bakhytzhamal Bekturganova, *"Uigurskii ekstremizm" v Tsentral'noi Azii: mif ili real'nost'? (Sotsiologicheskii analiz problemy)* (Almaty, 2002), p. 82.

32 APK's website [http://www.assembly.kz/info-culture_unit.shtml (accessed June 23, 2005)].

33 Ukaz Prezidenta Respubliki Kazakhstan ot 1 marta 1995 g. ob obrazovanii Assamblei narodov Kazakhstana.

provide support for ethnic organizations, a more important mission of the APK appears to be control and cooption of ethnic groups through its affiliated members. From the point of view of ethnic organizations, APK membership offers certain access to power as well as recognition by the authorities as a representative body of their ethnicity.

Authorized ethnic organizations are ardent supporters of pro-regime forces. Despite their wish to achieve representation in state organs in proportion to their population, ethnic organizations do not back up candidates on grounds of ethnicity. Rather, it appears that these cultural centers, by supporting pro-regime candidates irrespective of ethnic background, seek to lobby their interests through these politicians. For example, in the fall of 2004, during the election campaign for the *Majilis*, or the lower chamber of the national assembly, neither Uzbek nor Uighur organizations supported candidates of their own ethnicity.[34]

The core of the Uzbek movement in Kazakhstan is the Uzbek Cultural Center of the South Kazakhstan oblast, in which the Uzbek population is most concentrated. The Republican Association of Social Unions of the Uzbeks *Do'stlik* officially claims to unite regional cultural centers, but it seems to play a rather symbolic role.[35] Uzbek leaders do their utmost to demonstrate their faithfulness to the regime. In March 2005, for example, at *Qurultoy* (assembly) of the Uzbek Cultural Center of the South Kazakhstan oblast held at the House of Friendship of the Peoples in Shymkent, activists repeatedly expressed their gratitude to the president. Ikram Khashimzhanov, chairman of the oblast Uzbek cultural center is, not surprisingly, a member of *Otan* (Fatherland), the biggest pro-Nazarbaev

34 Two Uzbek candidates stood for the 2004 Majilis elections from Constituency 63, formed primarily from the Sairam raion of the South Kazakhstan oblast. Abdumalik Sarmanov, one of the candidates, was de-registered due to comments he made that allegedly incited ethnic hostility. Commenting on this, the Uzbek respondents that I interviewed told that Sarmanov would not have defeated the successful candidate Satybaldy Ibragimov, an ethnic Kazakh and a "friend of Nazarbaev," even if he were allowed to run. In the same elections, the Republican Cultural Center of Uighurs of Kazakhstan did not support an Uighur candidate who ran from a constituency that included the Uighur raion and the Panfilov raion of the Almaty oblast, the area with a highest percentage of the Uighur population.

35 *Do'stlik* is headed by Rozakul Khalmuradov, chairman of the Disciplinary Council of Akimat of the South Kazakhstan oblast. He was deputy Akim (governor) of the oblast from 1999 until 2002.

party.

On the part of the Uighurs, as an umbrella for Uighur organizations, the Republican Cultural Center of Uighurs of Kazakhstan (RCCUK) was established in September 2003. Although he did not run for the chairmanship of the center, the key figure here was Dilmurat Kuziev, the president of the Republican Uighur Association of Manufacturers, Entrepreneurs, and Agricultural Workers. As a successful entrepreneur, he has been offering financial support for the Uighur community, including the Uighur Theater, schools, mosques, and translation of the Qur'an into the Uighur language.[36] On the political front, he is a devoted supporter of President Nazarbaev. In the 2004 Majilis elections, the RCCUK appealed to the Uighur community to support the *Otan* party.[37]

Nevertheless, there are several organizations that did not join the RCCUK. Reasons for this are the differences in spheres of activities, personal conflict and competition among leaders, as well as the attitude toward Beijing. As Xinjiang independence movement is not allowed in Kazakhstan, organizations acting within the limits of the current regime are primarily focusing on cultural and economic issues of Kazakhstani Uighurs. But some leaders' close relations with the Chinese authorities have provoked distrust and criticism against them. And yet, the community of Uighur activists and intelligentsia is quite small, and personal ties can often be found even among conflicting organizations. As with the Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan, the Society of the Culture of Uighurs (SCU), headed by Farkhad Khasanov, is the only organization representing the Uighurs in the Assembly. Currently the RCCUK is seeking its official membership, in an attempt to replace the SCU.

Underground Organizations

Despite Beijing's apprehension that Kazakhstan might serve as a stronghold for the Xinjiang independence movement, the support provided by the Kazakhstani Uighurs is more moral than practical. Never-

36 Author's interview with the staff of the Republican Uighur Association of Manufacturers, Entrepreneurs, and Agricultural Workers, September 22, 2003.

37 Shardinov, Chairman of the Republican Cultural Center, is a member of the Otan party; Kuziev has joined the Asar party, headed by Dariga Nazarbaeva, daughter of President Nazarbaev.

theless, there are a few but vocal activists who openly demand Xinjiang's independence. Kakharman Khozhamberdi has formed the People's Party of Uighurstan in September 2002; it declares in its platform that the "main purpose of the party is to contribute to the political struggle of our nation for the restoration of the sovereign, civic, and democratic state in its historic homeland (the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Province of the People's Republic of China)." At the same time, it stresses that "in its activities [the party] will use only political methods" and "decisively will condemn and expose all manifestations of terrorism, extremism, and religious fanaticism."[38] Its proclaimed moderateness notwithstanding, the People's Party of Uighurstan has no prospect of being registered under the Law on Political Parties that bans parties along ethnicity.[39]

The United National Revolution Front of Eastern Turkistan, headed by the deceased Iusupbek Mukhlisi[40] was allegedly willing to resort to force for the sake of national independence. With very few followers and limited financial resources, it appears that Mukhlisi did not have a real capability to carry out any armed struggle. However, his sensational statements and aggressive slogans, published in the local press and in his own newspaper *Voice of Eastern Turkistan*, created a negative image about the Uighur community and offer a pretext for the authorities of Kazakhstan, as well as China, to take suppressive measures against them.

In recent years, the Uighurs in Kazakhstan (and Central Asia as a whole) have been increasingly labeled as "extremists" or "terrorists," who are plotting armed struggles with an aim to build an Uighur state or an Islamic caliphate. An incident in September 2000 further intensified such prejudice against them. At the center of Almaty, four men (as to the citizenship and ethnicity among them, various sources gave different figures, but at least one of them was a Chinese citizen of Uighur ethnic-

38 "Narodnaia partiia 'Uighurstan': Sbornik dokumentov" (in Uighur and Russian), Almaty, 2003. I owe this document to Khozamberdi.

39 Under the 2002 Law on Political Parties, formation of parties based on "professional, racial, national (*natsional'naia*), ethnic (*etnicheskaia*), and religious affiliation of citizens" (Section 8, Article 5) are prohibited.

40 He died in August 2004.

ity), who allegedly had killed two personnel of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Kazakhstan, were shot dead by the internal ministry's forces. After this, police searched houses in compact Uighur settlements, and took many Uighurs who had nothing to do with the incident to the police station for questioning. The mass media sensationally reported the incident as "Uighur extremism." My interviewees in Almaty complained that many Uighurs who had worked in the state sector lost their jobs after the incident. Dilbirim Samsakova, head of the *Nazugum* Foundation, who took in two children of a deceased suspect, was found dead in June 2001; the culprit is still at large.

Among the Uzbeks, there is no nationalist organization whose political agenda openly contradicts Kazakhstan's domestic or foreign policy. Meanwhile, Southern Kazakhstan has reportedly seen a rise of activities by banned religious movements such as Hizb ut-Tahrir, a movement seeking to create an Islamic state by political means. Some observers relate this not exclusively but primarily to the ethnic Uzbeks, both locals and those from Uzbekistan.[41] According to my informants, there indeed were relatively more Uzbeks who joined the ranks of Hizb ut-Tahrir, but currently they are not overrepresented.[42]

The two Muslim communities, in particular the Uighurs, are often blamed that they allegedly produce more "terrorists." The issues of Islamic and Uighur movements, however, have been politicized not so much by these communities as by the three states—Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and China—that view those movements as a serious threat to their security and overemphasize such threat.

Conclusion

The cases of the Uzbeks and the Uighurs in Kazakhstan show that their transborder ethnic links with homelands have not challenged the existing border of the host state. The breakup of the Soviet Union made the Uzbeks in Kazakhstan a "real" ethnic minority who live in a host state

41 International Crisis Group, *Radical Islam in Central Asia: Responding to Hizb ut-Tahrir* (Osh and Brussels, 2003), p. 18.

42 Authors' interview in Turkestan, March 29, 2005.

and have a distinct kin state. Seemingly, this situation is likely to lead to conflict over territory in which a minority resides. However, the Uzbek community has never asked to revise the border so that their settlements are incorporated into Uzbekistan, nor did Uzbekistan make an irredentist claim. Disagreements over border delimitation and control between the two states notwithstanding, interethnic relations in the south of Kazakhstan generally remained stable. The Uzbeks are aware of more favorable economic and other conditions in the host state as compared to the kin state, and seem to enjoy certain advantage of being "stranded" in Kazakhstan.

By contrast, the Uighurs, after more than two decades of separation from their homeland, have been renewing ties with their ethnic kin since the late 1980s. The opening of the border has enabled exchange with co-ethnics on the other side of the border, which has led to the increase in China's suspicion about their support for the Xinjiang independence movement. Close relations between the host state and the state ruling their historic homeland obviously have worked to Uighurs' disadvantage; the two states are in agreement not to allow transnational Uighur ethnic movements to flourish. Although they wish to have their own state, the majority of the Uighurs do not support the idea of an independent Uighurstan for fear that such a demand would invite negative reactions from the host state.

Despite differences in the relationship with their homeland, the strategy taken by the two minorities focused here are quite similar. Their choice of such a strategy has been strongly influenced by Kazakhstan's policy of control and cooption, which is only partially mentioned in this paper. Such discussions will be developed in a future study.

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